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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME XLIX

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XLIX

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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MEMBERS OF THE ISTITUTO PAPIROLOGICO G. VITELLI, FLORENCE

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PREFACE

THIS volume contains three main groups of papyri. One was prepared for publication by Dr Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, another by Dr J. E. G. Whitehorne, both as doctoral theses in the University of London under the supervision of Sir Eric Turner; this original version has been revised against the papyri, and to some extent reworked, by Mr Parsons and Dr Rea. The third group was studied at a seminar in the Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli of the University of Florence, under the direction of Dr Coles; each member of the seminar contributes one text; their versions have been revised and translated by Dr Coles. We owe further substantial contributions to Dr S. A. Stephens and Dr J. C. Shelton.

The content is miscellaneous. There are fragmentary but interesting pieces of New Comedy (3431–2), a handsome Strabo (3447) and an even more handsome Dinarchus (3436–7) which have an interest for the textual critic; 3441 adds to the history of an Odyssean crux, 3454 to the history of Greek punctuation. 3455–6 include new items of metrological information. Among the documents, we note especially 3479 for the consuls of 361, 3495 for the time and motion of Oxyrhynchite fishermen, 3477 for the anacrisis of slaves, and 3482 for the transference of catoecic land; 3463 and 3476 shed new light on the ephebate at Alexandria and Antinoopolis; 3470, 3472 and 3473 add to our knowledge of the temples – the admission of their priests, the uses of their precincts, and the miscellany of sacred junk that they accumulated.

We record our warm gratitude to Dr H. M. Cockle, who compiled the indexes; and to the Cambridge University Press for the accuracy and elegance of their production.

P. J. P.
J. R. R.
E. G. T.

April 1982

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CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
TABLE OF PAPYRI	ix
LIST OF PLATES	xiii
NUMBERS AND PLATES	xiii
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS	xv
NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS	xv
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED PAPYRI	xvii

TEXTS

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS (3431-3434)	i
II. EXTANT LITERARY TEXTS (3435-3451)	17
III. SUBLITERARY TEXTS (3452-3454)	93
IV. METROLOGY (3455-3460)	99
V. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS (3461-3481)	108
VI. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS (3482-3502)	165
VII. PRIVATE LETTERS (3503-3507)	233
VIII. TEXTS FIRST PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE (3508-3521)	244

INDEXES

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS	259
(a) NEW COMEDY AND MENANDER (3431-3433)	259
(b) UNIDENTIFIED PROSE (3434)	260
II. METROLOGICAL TEXTS	261
III. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS	262
IV. CONSULS AND INDICTIONS	263
(a) Consuls	263
(b) Indictions	263
V. MONTHS	263

VI.	PERSONAL NAMES	264
VII.	GEOGRAPHICAL	271
	(a) Countries, Nomes, Toparchies, Cities, etc.	271
	(b) Villages, etc.	271
	(c) Tribes and Demes	272
	(d) Miscellaneous	272
VIII.	RELIGION	272
IX.	OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES	273
X.	PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS	273
XI.	MEASURES	274
	(a) Weights and Measures	274
	(b) Money	274
XII.	TAXES	275
XIII.	GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS	275

TABLE OF PAPYRI

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

3431. Anon., New Comedy	SAS	Late 2nd cent. ¹	1
3432. Anon., New Comedy	SAS	Early 3rd cent.	8
3433. Menander, Fr. 740 K.-Th. ²	JB	Late 1st cent.	
		B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	11
3434. Unidentified Prose	AB-J	3rd cent.	15

II. EXTANT LITERARY TEXTS

3435. Demosthenes, <i>Olynth.</i> i 22-8	AB-J	2nd cent.	17
3436. Dinarchus, <i>In Demosthenem</i> 7-8, 108-111	JEGW	2nd cent.	22
3437. Dinarchus, <i>In Philoclem</i> 17-22	MM	2nd-3rd cent.	25
3438. Homer, <i>Iliad</i> i 499-523	TD	2nd-3rd cent.	28
3439. Homer, <i>Iliad</i> v 1-23	AB-J	2nd cent.	30
3440. Homer, <i>Iliad</i> xvi 612-54	AB-J	2nd-3rd cent.	31
3441. Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> x 1-24	AB-J	2nd cent.	33
3442. Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> xi 330-66, 373-403	JEGW	2nd cent.	35
3443. Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> xvii 409-37, 460-77	JEGW	3rd cent.	38
3444. Isocrates, <i>Evagoras</i> 6-12	MSF	2nd-3rd cent.	41
3445. Lycophron, <i>Alexandra</i> 747-56, 764-9, 850-3	JEGW	2nd cent.	44
3446. Lycophron, <i>Alexandra</i> 1239-50	JEGW	2nd cent.	46
3447. Strabo, Bk. ix	JEGW	Earlier 2nd cent.	47
3448. Thucydides, i 40	JEGW	2nd-3rd cent.	73
3449. Thucydides, i 42	JEGW	3rd cent.	75
3450. Thucydides, i 99-105, 116-17, 120	AB-J	3rd cent.	76
3451. Thucydides viii	JEGW	1st-2nd cent.	87

III. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

3452. Greek-Latin Glossary	JEGW	2nd cent.	93
3453. List of <i>Προσφάτια</i>	AB-J	2nd-3rd cent.	95
3454. List of <i>Προσφάτια</i> and <i>Στιγμαί</i>	PJP	2nd cent.	97

IV. METROLOGY

3455. Metrological Text	JCS	3rd-4th cent.	99
3456. Metrological Fragment	JCS	3rd-4th cent.	103
3457. Metrological Fragment	JCS	1st-2nd cent.	105
3458. Metrological Fragment	JCS	3rd cent.	105
3459. Metrological Fragment	JCS	3rd cent.	106
3460. Metrological Fragment	JCS	2nd-3rd cent.	107

1 All dates A.D., except where noted.

TABLE OF POPYRI

V. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3461. Record of Transfer Tax on House	JEGW	25 Aug. 46 B.C.	108
3462. Account	JEGW	1st cent. B.C.	109
3463. Application for the Ephebate	JEGW	Between 10 Jan. and 29 Aug. 58	112
3464. Application for a Summons	JEGW	c. 54-60	117
3465. Report of Episceptae	JEGW	63/4	120
3466. Petition to an Archidicastes	JEGW	81-96	122
3467. Petition	JEGW	2 Sept. 98	125
3468. Petition to a Prefect	JEGW	1st cent.	126
3469. Official Letter	DF	1st cent.	129
3470-3471. Sworn Declarations by Priests	AB-J	22 Dec. 131	131
3472. Letter concerning the Idios Logos	JEGW	28 Aug. 149	138
3473. Declaration of Temple Property, etc.	AB-J	161-9	141
3474. Application for a Loan of Seed Corn	RP	197/8	146
3475. Report of Dike Superintendents	GB	16 Mar. 220	149
3476. Sworn Declaration of <i>'Απαρχή</i>	AB-J	17 Sept. 260	152
3477. Application for Anacrisis	AB-J	29 Aug.-11(?) Nov. 270	155
3478. Formula for a Subscription	AB-J	Early 4th cent?	158
3479. Deed of Surety	AB-J	361?	158
3480. Petition to a Beneficiarius	AB-J	c. 360-90	161
3481. Declaration of a Shipper	LP	10 Sept. 442	163

VI. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3482. Cession of Catoecic Land	GMS	8 Oct. 73 B.C.	165
3483. Contract	JEGW	Early 1st cent.	173
3484. Freight Contract	JEGW	27-33	174
3485. Loan of Money	JEGW	23 Aug. 38	177
3486. Order for Payment in Grain	MCD	41/2?	180
3487. Receipt for Part-repayment of Loan	RDS	1 Oct. 65	181
3488. Lease of Land	SSF/JRR	70	184
3489. Lease of Land	JEGW	72	187
3490. Loan of Money	AB-J	140/1	190
3491. Marriage Contract	AB-J	157/8	191
3492. Account	AB-J	161-9	198
3493. Loan of Wheat	IA/GS	23 Feb. 175	202
3494. Loan of Wheat	SA/RF	23 Feb. 175	204
3495. Fishing Account	DF	2nd cent.	206
3496. Notice of Credit in Grain	AM	Dec. 214/Jan. 215?	218
3497. Notice of Credit in Grain	ES	216?	220
3498. Sale and Cession of Land	AB-J	27 Oct. 274	221
3499. Synchoreisis	AB-J	c. 298?	227
3500. Marriage Contract	CR	3rd cent.	228
3501. Invitation to an Epicrisis	AB-J	3rd-4th cent.	230
3502. Account	AB-J	3rd-4th cent.	231

TABLE OF PAPYRI

xi

VII. PRIVATE LETTERS

3503. Double Letter	JEGW	Later 1st cent.	233
3504. Private Letter	JEGW	1st-2nd cent.	234
3505. Papontos to Alexander	AB-J	2nd cent?	236
3506. Harbaethus to Thermuthion	PP	3rd cent.	238
3507. Apollonius to Sarapodorus	JEGW	3rd-4th cent.	239

VIII. TEXTS FIRST PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE

3508. Oath of a Dike Overseer	RH	16 Apr. 70	244
3509. Plato, <i>Republic</i> , Bk. i 330a2-b4	RH	3rd cent.	245
3510. Notice of the Deaths of Slaves	RH	79/80	247
3511. Private Account	RH	Earlier 4th cent.	248
3512. Sale of Wine	RH	26 Feb. 492	249
3513-3521. Orders to issue Wheat and Wine	SAS	May 260 or 282	250

IA	= I. Andorlini	AM	= A. Moscadi
SA	= S. Arci	LP	= L. Papini
GB	= G. Bastianini	PJP	= P. J. Parsons
JB	= J. Bingen	RP	= R. Pintaudi
AB-J	= A. Bülow-Jacobsen	PP	= P. Pruneti
MCD	= M. C. Donnini	JRR	= J. R. Rea
TD	= T. Dorandi	CR	= C. Römer
RF	= R. Ferrini	JCS	= J. C. Shelton
DF	= D. Foraboschi	ES	= E. Shepherd
SSF	= S. S. Foulk	SAS	= S. A. Stephens
MSF	= M. S. Funghi	GS	= G. Sodini
RH	= R. Hübner	RDS	= R. D. Sullivan
MM	= M. Manfredi	JEGW	= J. E. G. Whitehorne
GMS	= G. Messeri Savorelli		

LIST OF PLATES

I	3431
II	3432, 3433, 3446, 3454
III	3436
IV	3447 Frr. 14-15, 3452
V	3461, 3501
VI	3463
VII	3472
VIII	3482

NUMBERS AND PLATES

3431	I	3454	II
3432	II	3461	V
3433	II	3463	VI
3436	III	3472	VII
3446	II	3482	VIII
3447	Frr. 14-15, IV	3501	V
3452	IV		

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ` ´ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roman numerals to columns.

The use of arrows (→, ↓) to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing has been abandoned for reasons put forward by E. G. Turner, 'The Terms Recto and Verso' (*Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie I: Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16* (1978) 64-5). In this volume most texts appear to accord with normal practice in being written parallel with the fibres on sheets of papyrus cut from the manufacturer's roll. Any departures from this practice which have been detected are described in the introductions to the relevant items.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (2nd edn., 1980). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

The inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D(3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given within that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A.B.3.2/A(6); these refer to a separate series of boxes.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO
PAPYRI PUBLISHED BY
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- I 43 verso (= WChr. 474). Cf. *BASP* 18 (1981) 76-7.
47. This is to be dated more precisely between A.D. 83/4 and Oct.-Nov. A.D. 88. *ZPE* 40 (1980) 78-9.
73 26-7. For . . .]τρι ξ[ξ-]|²⁷αίρετον δούλην read perhaps κο]πριφ[ν-]|²⁷αίρετον δούλην. See PSI XII 1230. 4 as corrected in BL III 227, IV 90. Cf. BL I 314.
134 26. For Ταρουεθ[(ίνου)] read probably Ταρουεξ[βτ]. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 198-9.
169 (description). Edition in *Stud. Pap.* 19 (1980) 5-7.
- II 251 (= *Aegyptus* 46 (1966) 222-4). 1. Read Διδύμωι καὶ Ἀ[πολλωνίωι? Cf. XXXIII 2669 1 n., P. Mich. III 170. 1 n. J. E. G. Whitehorne.
255 (= WChr. 201). 2. Read Διδύμωι [καὶ Ἀ]πολ[λω(νίωι) or Ἀ]πολ[λ(νίωι)]. Cf. XXXIII 2669 1 n., P. Mich. III 170. 1 n. J. E. G. Whitehorne.
261 (= MChr. 346 = Sel. Pap. 1 60). 6. For Δηνείου read Ζηνείου. XLIX 3486 8 n.
336 (description). Edition in *L'Antiquité classique* 50 (1981) 753-8.
- III 473 (= WChr. 33). 2. For Ὀξυρυγγιτῶν read Ναυκρατιτῶν. *BASP* 18 (1981) 78-9.
495 5. For Κριεθύρει read Κερκεθύρει. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 79.
501 7-8. For Τιχινακιτωου read perhaps Τυχινακιτώου. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 210.
504 15-16. For the reading and restoration cf. XLIX 3482 9 n.
648 (description). For Ψαλβώ read probably Τυχυν]ψαλβώ. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 211.
- IV 715 23-4. In the translation for '1²/₈' read '7²/₈'. J. Rowlandson.
720 (= ChLA IV 269). 9. For Αὐρηλία read perhaps Αὐρήλι<ο>ε or Αὐρήλιο<ε>. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 107.
721 4. Read βασιλικῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ (vac.) (ἔτους) Καί[α]ρ[ο]ς. In ed. pr. γῆς was omitted. J. R. Rea.
735 (= ChLA IV 275). 8. For πραιτων read πραι(σιδίου) Κοήν(ης). *ZPE* 42 (1981) 108.
794 20-1. Perhaps restore Θμ[οι]|²¹θῶθιν. XLIX 3489 3 n.
800 (description). Edition in *CE* 54 (1979) 131-3.
- VIII 1052 26. For Περεινούεως read perhaps Περετνούεως. XLIX 3489 3 n.
1053 28. For τοῖς <ἀ>πὸ Ταμιτ() Τέως read τοῖς ποταμίτ(αις) Τέως(?). P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 204. (Perhaps read rather τέως, 'so far, to date', cf. the second payment to *potamitae* in 30. J. R. Rea.) 30. For τῶς <ἀ>πὸ Ταμ.[.]εφ.[.]ε[.] read [τ]οῖ[ε] ποταμ[ίτ(αις)] Ε[]. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 44.
1106 (= ChLA IV 237). 5. For μετ' read κατ'. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 109 n. 11.
- IX 1173. Cf. *BASP* 17 (1980) 155-65.
1208 21. For [ύ]πὲρ ἄ[λλ]ων restore [ύ]πὲρ α[ύτ]ῶν. XLIX 3498 30 n.
- X 1235. Cf. *Prometheus* 6 (1980) 97-106.
1270 5. The archidicastes Celer might be identical with the soldier in P. IFAO III 11. H. Devijver, *Anagenesis* 1 (1981) 210-18.
1271 (= ChLA IV 266). 2. For Μαικιανῆς read Μαρκιανῆς.
6. For Π[α]χῶν α read perhaps γ (ἔτους) ἐ(παγομένων) α.
12. Read and restore perhaps K[al(endas) Octobres]. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 108-9.
1285 106. For Κ[ό]μα read perhaps Τ[ό]κα. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 88, 206.
1312 (description). For τὸ σικου(?) ἀπὸ Πεκτυεύτου εὐρίσκεται read τοσικου - still obscure - ἀπὸ Πεκτὺ εὐτοῦ (= αὐτοῦ) εὐρίσκεται, '. . . (?) from Pecty is to be found here (or 'there')'. For εὐτοῦ = αὐτοῦ see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 1, 234. J. R. Rea.
1334. On the era date, still a puzzle, see *BASP* 17 (1980) 110.
1356. Cf. *BASP* 17 (1980) 155-65.

- XI 1364. Cf. G. B. Kerferd (ed.), *The Sophists and their Legacy* (*Hermes*, Einzelschr. 44), 81-91.
- XII 1537 10. For Γαί[ο]υ Διδύμη[ου] Τίρωνος read perhaps Γαί[ο]υ Ἰφυλλί[ου] Τίρωνος. XLIX 3498 2-4 n.
1575. The date is 26 May, A.D. 338. *BASP* 17 (1980) 116.
- XIV 1635 8-10. For the restorations see XLIX 3482 8 n., 9 n.
- XV 1797. Cf. G. B. Kerferd (ed.), *The Sophists and their Legacy* (*Hermes*, Einzelschr. 44), 81-91.
1798. Cf. *Amer. Journ. Anc. Hist.* 4 (1979) 97-101.
- XVI 1917 56, 58. On κελλ(ία?) in this text see *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.*, 524-5.
1912 123. For Παεῖδος read Γραεῖδος. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 41.
1918 *recto* 11. Λεωνίδου may be a place name rather than a personal name. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 96.
1937 7. The place called Φερετροῦς is probably to be identified with Περετροῦς in the Cynopolite nome. XLIX 3489 3 n.
1991 4-6. The date is 18 September, A.D. 601. Z. Borkowski.
- XVII 2079. Cf. *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, 32 (1979) 128-37.
2086 *recto*. Cf. *Mus. Crit.* 13-14 (1978-9) 245-9.
2094. Further fragments of this piece are published as 3445 below. Dr W. E. H. Cockle has cleaned 2094. The improved readings which follow are his, except where noted: 922-3. Much-damaged traces remain from the ends of these lines. 922 possibly Πελλ]λην[ιοσ 923 probably στρατη]λατα[ις (or]λατα[?] 924 read ὄρω[ων 925 read κνω[ν 931 read π]έφρ[ι]κός (P.J.P.) 932 read εκτι[νων (P.J.P.) 933 read μήλ]ω[ν] τφν δ[ορικτητων 937 read το]ν τε κρ[η]τ[ών]θ[η]ς θεον 939 read] δέλφ[υ]ο[ς 1359 read δορ]ί[κ]τη[τον 1362 two letters' space after έρω, a trace like a short-mark in the margin 1367 read βλάβ[α]ς 1368 read ήιόνα 1369 read Λα]περ[είω].
- XVIII 2158. Cf. *BASP* 17 (1980) 155-65.
2174 ¹¹. Cf. *Mus. Crit.* 13-14 (1978-9) 149-51.
2202. The top of this document, with the invocation formula, is probably lost. *CE* 56 (1981) 116.
2204 5. For Πανίας read Σπανίας. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 185.
2207 27. For Μεγάλου Ρούχεως read Μεγάλου Μούχεως. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 108.
- XIX 2225. Cf. *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, 32 (1979) 119-27.
- XX 2245. Cf. *Phil. Class.* 1 (1977) 45-50; *BPEC* N.S. 27 (1979) 79-103.
- XXI 2291. Cf. *Emerita* 48 (1980) 249-50.
- XXII 2338. Cf. *BASP* 18 (1981) 77-8.
- XXIII 2369. Cf. *CQ* N.S. 30 (1980) 23-9.
- XXIV 2411. Cf. *SDHI* 44 (1978) 452-60.
- XXVII 2459 ¹. Cf. R. Pintaudi, *Misc. Pap.*, 60.
2478. The top of this document, with the invocation formula, is lost. *CE* 56 (1981) 117. 17-21. In the translation of εὐγνωμονεῖν... κ[αὶ τ]ὰς διδομένας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἔθους γεουχικὰς ὑπηρεσίας for 'and perform all the estate tasks usually presented by it' (i.e. αὐτοῦ = τοῦ πωμαρίου), read 'and perform all the estate tasks usually contributed by him' (i.e. αὐτοῦ = τοῦ πωμαρίτου). I. F. Fikhman, *Klio* 63 (1981) 605-8; cf. *id.* in *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.*, 476.
2479 6. For] καὶ τω.ελε.[π]ροέρχομαι read οὔ[τω] καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἐλεειν[ός] προέρχομαι.
8. For ἀνέστην read perhaps ἀπέστην. 11. For ἀναγραφῆναι read ἀπογραφῆναι.
19-20. For ὑπὲρ οὐ²⁰ οὐ²⁰ σπείρω read ὑπὲρ οὐ²⁰ ἂν σπείρω. *ZPE* 38 (1980) 246-8.
- XXXI 2565. Cf. *ZRG Röm. Abt.* 97 (1980) 91, 96.
2588 7. For φν read οὔ. XLIX 3486 3 n.
2611 16-17. Cf. *BASP* 18 (1981) 74.
- XXXIII 2665 24 n. The statement that year 13 (Constantius and Galerius) and 1 (Severus and Maximinus) has not appeared in the documents is wrong. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas*, 30.
- XXXIV 2719. Another text similarly entitled σημασία (P. Osl. inv. 1621) has been published in *Symb. Osl.* 56 (1981) 103-4. 9. For οἰκία ἐπτάτεγος cf. *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.*, 522-3.
2723 24. Restore something like ἐὰν δέ τι φανῆ ἔξα[κολουθοῦν]... XLIX 3498 33-4 n.

- XXXV 2744 ii 32-6. Cf. *Anagennesis* I (1981) 23-30.
- XXXVI 2745. Cf. *Stud. Pap.* 19 (1980) 45-7.
2767. Cf. *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.*, 519-20.
- XXXVII 2811 5. Cf. *Mus. Crit.* 13-14 (1978-9) 41-3.
- XXXVIII 2847 10-11. Read *παρ' ἐνιαυ[τὸν] ἐπ[ι]κε[ε]11τ[ε]ται*, 'is revised in alternate years'. See also under XLII 3047 7. J. R. Rea.
- XXXIX 2890 front. Cf. *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 91-6.
- XLI 2949. Cf. *ZNTW* 72 (1981) 216-26.
2967 11. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 183, doubts the reading *μέσση(ς) το(παρχίας) Σεψ[τό](πων)*, since many other references show that Sco was in the Upper toparchy. Inspection of the original confirmed that everything after *το(παρχίας)* is doubtful, and no convincing solution was reached. R. A. Coles.
2969. Cf. *Proc. XVI Int. Congr.*, 519-20.
2993. Cf. *Proc. XVI Int. Congr.*, 519-20.
2994. Cf. *Proc. XVI Int. Congr.*, 519-20.
- XLII 3047 7. Read *ἐν τάξει τῶν παρ' ἐνιαυ(των) - παρενιαυ pap. - [ἐ]πικεπ[ε]τ[ε]ομένων*, 'in the category of (lands) revised in alternate years'. See also under XXXVIII 2847 10-11. J. R. Rea.
3057. Cf. R. Pintaudi, *Misc. Pap.*, 289 and Pl. XII.
3070. Cf. C. Gallavotti, *Museum Criticum* 13-14 (1978-9) 363-9.
- XLIII 3096. Cf. *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 140-4.
3120 3. In *μυλαίω Λευκαδείου* the second element may be a place name rather than a personal name. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 95.
- XLIV 3182. Correct the date in the heading from 22 August to 23 August. This is the date of the main body of the text, Mesore 30 = 23 August (line 16). The notice was delivered on Mesore Epagomenon 2 = 25 August (line 18) and the duty was to be done on Mesore Epagomenon 4 = 27 August (line 7). Cf. XLVI 3293 13-14 n.
- XLVI 3285. Cf. *ZRG Röm. Abt.* 96 (1979) 268-71.
3289 22 n. The note is wrong. The Caesar whose name is lost must have been Saloninus, because the year is the sixth of the reign and Saloninus had already replaced Valerian Caesar in Mesore of the fifth year, see XXXI 2560 23. J. R. Rea.
3298 2 n. To the references for *κόρυφος* add SB XII 11129. 5-6 = P. Mich. Michael (Diss. Ann Arbor 1966; University Microfilms 1970) 27. 5-6. It is there interpreted as a proper name.
3307. Cf. *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.*, 433-4, 439-40.
3314. Cf. *Scritti... Montevicchi*, 407-11.
- XLVII 3317. Cf. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 27-30.
3333 21 n. There were four, not three, villages called Psobthis in the Oxyrhynchite nome. The same mistake was made in 3358 5 n. See XLIX 3503 13 n. and now P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 223-6.
3358 5 n. See above under 3333 21 n.
- XLIX 3508 30. Probably we should take *ἐκ Καριστοτέλους και Διοφάντου* as a misreading by the writer of the papyrus of *ἐκ κλη(ήρου) - ορ κλη(ήρων) - Ἀριστοτέλους και Διοφάντου*. The plate in the first edition, *ZPE* 24 (1977) Taf. II, makes it very clear how *κλ'αρ* came to be misread as *καπ*. J. R. Rea.
- P. Oxy. Hels. 44. 1. For *τὸ* , read *τὸ δ*. The date is February/March, A.D. 324: *BASP* 17 (1980) 116. 48. 26-7. On *πολλὰ πράσσοντα* see *BASP* 18 (1981) 80-1.
- P. Tebt. II 271. Plate in *Archiv* 16 (1956) Taf. I (C; opp. p. 32).
556 (description). Edition in *Akten XIII Int. Papyrologenkongresses*, 207-11.
586 (description). Edition and two plates in *Akten XIII Int. Papyrologenkongresses*, 211-14, Taf. I and II.
III. i 690. Plate in *Archiv* 16 (1956) Taf. IV (L; opp. p. 49).
692. Cf. *CQ N.S.* 30 (1980) 23-9. Plate in *Scrittura e Civiltà* 4 (1980) Tav. 11b (between pp. 40 and 41).
697. Plate in *Scrittura e Civiltà* 4 (1980) Tav. 12 (between pp. 40 and 41).
- O. Fay. 17 (P. Fay. p. 324). Cf. R. Pintaudi, *Misc. Pap.*, 103-4.
- P. Turner 4. Cf. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 23-5.
17. 8. For *ωδεπητις*. [read *ὡς δ' ἐπί τυ[ων]*. XLIX 3487 8-9 n.

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

3431. ANON., NEW COMEDY

21 3B. 28/L (2-4)a-c

(a) Fr. 1 4.5 × 13.1 cm.
(b) Frr. 2+3 9.3 × 18.3 cm.

Late second century

These fragments written by the same hand form parts of two columns from a dialogue of New Comedy. Fragment 1, which retains upper and left margins of c. 2.0 cm., consists of the beginnings only of 20 lines of dialogue in an iambic meter. Fragment 2 has upper and lower margins of c. 2.5 cm. and is joined at the upper right corner by fragment 3, which retains only its upper margin; frr. 2+3 preserve 26 lines of iambic trimeter. Fr. 1 does not join frr. 2+3, but may well come from an immediately preceding or following column. All the pieces are badly warped and frr. 2+3 are stained and brittle, especially at the upper right. Writing is with the fibres; the backs of all pieces are blank.

The hand is practiced, rounded and upright, but uneven; the scribe used a blunt pen and tended to ligature his letters, which are medium to large in size. The letter shapes, varied in size and irregular in formation (α sometimes has the form A), are likely to belong to the end of the second century (cf. Roberts, *GLH* pls. 13b and 20). Lectional signs include paragraphi on fr. 1, dicolon at fr. 2. 1, high stops at fr. 2. 1, 5, 18, 19, grave accent at fr. 2. 16. There is an elision marked at fr. 2. 16, but *scriptio plena* at 19. Iota adscript is written at fr. 2. 15, but neglected at 18. The text is corrected twice by the original scribe (fr. 1. 5, fr. 2. 1) and there are no other uncorrected errors. At the foot of frr. 2+3 what appears to be a second hand has written 26 = number of lines in the column (see Turner, *GMAW* introd. 19).

The meter of frr. 2+3 is consistent with iambic trimeter throughout with, at most, 1-2 syllables lacking from the beginnings of lines 1-6. A trochaic scheme would produce two anomalous lines, 3 (no median dieresis) and 6 (divided resolution), while lines 10 and 19, which would have no median diereses, discourage belief in iambic tetrameter. For metrical reasons alone fr. 1 cannot be made to join frr. 2+3.

The context of fr. 1 is lost; the conversation at the top of frr. 2+3 seems to be about the property of one of the speakers which his (?) sister (l. 3) has taken or received; there is talk of a cloak and possibly dinner (l. 5) which may be gotten from the sister. It is likely that *πρὸς ταύτην*, [*π*]αὐτῆς and *χρησίμη* all refer to the sister. The situation would seem to require:

- (1) speaker A who has a sister (l. 3),
- (2) a son and daughter (l. 18),
- (3) Moschion (l. 22), who is no doubt one of the speakers,
- (4) speaker B, who is parent, friend or slave of A.

The most economical equation is:

- (1) speaker A = Moschion = son,
- (2) sister = daughter,
- (3) speaker B = parent of A,

though other arrangements are possible.

While such characters are standard in New Comedy, one play does suggest itself. If lines 3–6 are correctly restored, there is a more than fleeting resemblance to Terence's *Hauton Timoroumenos*, 964 ff. when Chremes, having determined to give his son Clitipho's inheritance into the keeping of his daughter's husband says:

ei commisi et credidi.
 ibi stultitiae semper erit praesidium, Clitipho.
 victus, vestitus, quo in tectum te receptes. CL. ei mihi.

Though the resemblance is not strong enough, especially in the rest of the column, to identify this fragment very securely with Terence's Greek antecedent, it does suggest possible lines of restoration: 7–13 might well be part of a father's speech about the benefits of such an arrangement, 19–25 an argument between father and son.

Since the beginnings and ends of lines are lacking, part distribution is tentative. The easiest division, following the papyrus, gives one speaker (B) [κ]αὶ τοῦ μέρος τί, treats πῶς ἐμοῦ; as an interjection of A, with B continuing until πονηρόν (l. 5). Therefore, τοῦ, τῆς and τῶν all refer to the same person – A. Restorations are given *exempli gratia*.

I am more grateful than I can say for the help I have received from Professor E. W. Handley and from the late Professor T. B. L. Webster.

Fr. 1

	μ.[	μα[
	εαν.[	εαν.[
	και[	και[
	πεπ[	πεπ[
5	αν ^π ερθε[	ανπερ θε[
	τιπ[	τί π[
	ουκο[	ουκο[
	τον.[	τον χ[
	ερω...[	ερω...[
10	παλιν[	πάλιν[
	αδιδωσ[	α δίδωσ[
	μαλλον.[	μᾶλλον .[
	εα..[	εὰν δ[
	τισπρ[	τίς πρ[
15	αστειον[	ἀστέιον[
	λεγης[	λέγης[
	εισοικιαν[	εἰς οἰκίαν[
	θρέψωσ.[	θρέψω σε[
	μηθε[	μηθε[
20	...[] .[...[] .[

Fr. 1. 1 .[, high trace with rounded trace below, α 2 .[, low dot, α, δ, λ 4 π[, second π ligatured to ε 5 The π is placed between ν and ε, so appears to be an insertion (= ανπερ), rather than a substitution of π for ν (= ανπερ) 6 ιπ[, ι is ligatured to next letter which is formed like the π in line 4 8 .[, left half of χ or λ 9 ...[, feet of 3(?) letters 10 ν[, high wedge-shaped trace, right corner of ν 12 .[, two dots in vertical alignment, α? 13 .[, an upright with descender slanted to right (ν?), then low horizontal 15 ν[, high trace, suitable for ν 18 .[, high rounded trace, ε, ο 20 ...[, tops of 2-3 letters, then wedge of δ or α; .[, upright with cross-stroke, τ, π?

Fr. 2

Fr. 3

]αικουμεροστι: πωσεμον'πρ.[
]ωνωνδεδωκαουδεμεικ.[
]σσηςλαβουσησταυταδεληφης..[
].τονεισελθοντιπροσταυτηναε.[
 5]π.ογ'πονηρονιματιονεανθ[
].ραταυτησετερονε.[
].νητεπολλακαι.[
]κοιχρησιμηγεν[
].απεριξεται.[
 10]υντοσαποκεκλει.[
]καταχεουσιου.[
].οσαπολεις[
]..[].[]δανοιξει.[
]ρει...μηθ...[.].[
 15]τωιδοντικαιμ[
]εμωκησετουδε.[
].εισπωποθουτω[
]ν'υιωθυγατριτου.[
].ουτο'ουπροαιρουμ[
 20]μενοςζηνουδεθ[
].ομυττομεν[
].οιμοσχιωνερ[
]...μεν.ς.ς[
]αυτοσοσοφιστ.[
 25]οφιστησχωλα[
].εισαιμηταπο.[
 (m. 2?) κς

Frr. 2 + 3

- 1 (B) κ]αὶ σοῦ μέρος τί; (A) πῶς ἐμοῦ; (B) πρὸ[ς τῶν θεῶν,
 τ]ῶν σῶν δέδωκας οὐδὲ μικρ[όν· νῦν δέ σοι,
 τῆ]ς σῆς λαβούσης ταῦτ' ἀδελφῆς, ἕξ[τ' ἔχειν
 ἄρι]στον εἰσελθόντι πρὸς ταύτην ἀεὶ,
 5 δεῖ]πνον... (A) πονηρόν. (B) ἰμάτιον ἐὰν θ[έλης,
 κομιεῖ π]αρὰ ταύτης ἕτερον· εὐ[---
 προνοουμ]ένη τε πολλὰ καὶ .[---
 ---] σοι χρησίμη γεν[ήσεται·
 --- ταῦ]τα περιέξεται .[---
 10 ---]υντος ἀποκεκλείς[εται
 ---] καταχέουσί σου .[---
].ος ἀπολεῖς[
 ---] δ' ἀνοίξει τ[ῆν θύραν
 ε]ρεισαι μῆθ' .[.].[
 15]τῶι δόντι καὶ μ[
]ξ μωκῆσεν' οὐδε.[
 --- οὐ]δεις πῶποθ' οὕτω[---
 (A) ---]ν· νίῳ θυγατρί τ' οὐ.[
 ---] τοῦτο· (B) οὐ προαιρούμ[αι δ' ἐγώ
 20 ἀπομυττό]μενος ζῆν οὐδὲ θ[νήσκειν ---
 (A) ἀ]πομυττόμεν[ος;
 (B) ---]σοι, Μοσχίων, ερ[---
]θόμεν .ς.ς[
 ---]αὐτὸς ὁ σοφιστή[ς ---
 25 (A) ποῖος σ]οφιστής; χρῶ λα[βῶν ---
 --- ε]ρεισαι μῆτ' ἀπολ[---

FR. 2+3. Warping has dropped the lines of fr. 3 below those of fr. 2. 1 .[, after tail of ρ low trace, ο, ? 2 .[, foot of descender of ρ 3 .[, traces of two rounded letters, first with cross-bar, εε? 4 .[, low ink with part of ligature above, c most likely .[, ι broken and written rather low, ligatured to ε 5]π.ογ, initially two verticals topped by a horizontal, π or ιτ; then a high wedge-shaped trace with ink from a vertical descender directly below and a similar low trace to the right, α or ν most likely, then ο followed by λι or ν 6 .[, high, sloping descender, probably α .[, median trace, curving down, υ or τ 7 .[, median horizontal, from ε? .[, wedge-shaped base with ink dot above, α, δ 9 .[, horizontal, τ, c? After περι, top of ε, ξ or χ, feet of ετ curving right, αι .[, two traces in vertical alignment, the upper appears to slope down slightly, α, δ, λ, χ, ν 10 .[, a small rounded trace, consistent with c 11 .[, high downward-sloping trace, α, δ, λ, ν 12 .[, high dot, τ, c? 13 .[, traces of two rounded letters .[, ink on a broken fibre, possibly from a previous letter .[, median ink consistent with τ 14 After ι, top half of a rounded letter (c, θ), followed by traces of a triangular letter and foot of ι, cai? .[.].[, broken fibres with traces of at least three letters; the first is rounded and may be ε, the ink before the lacuna may be the foot of a descender, after the lacuna a median horizontal trace 16 .[, λ, χ 17 .[, low trace, from δ? 18 .[, θ, c 19 .[, trace of horizontal,]τ προαι: to the top left of iota, unexplained ink, like the left-hand point of a diaeresis 20]μ, only right descender remains 21 .[, trace of horizontal 22 .[, rounded trace consistent with c 23 .[, the first is ε or θ; then rounded letter closed at top, ο or just possibly right half of ω. After ν, median trace with low dot to right, as if from sloping descender; α possible, but ο unlikely. After c, high trace, ι, α, η, or even top of small pointed ο 24]α, trace of upright and ligature remain 25 Small rounded trace above left shoulder of φ; descender from line above? 26 .[, upper right portion of ρ, ο, θ, φ; after εικα broken ι rather than dicolon; .[, λ, χ.

1–5 Each line begins slightly to the left of the preceding (see fr. 1), so there should be one letter missing from line 1, 1–2 from 2 and 3, and 3 from lines 4 and 5.

1 πῶς ἐμοῦ; should be an interjection by a second speaker, cf. *Ep.* 957, *Asp.* 167, *Sam.* 578–9; if this assumption is correct, then a high stop was used to indicate the change of speaker (see Handley, *Dysk.* p. 45).

2 τῶν cῶν δέδωκας οὐδὲ μικρ[όν (sc. μέρος) cf. *Ep.* 287: δέδωκά σοι τι τῶν ἐμῶν. οὐδὲ μικρόν is unlikely to be adverbial since δέδωκας needs an object.

2–4 The construction requires an antecedent for εἰσελθόντι and either a finite verb or an infinitive for αἰεί. Since the beginnings of lines 4 and 5 are unlikely to admit either, the ends of 2 and 3 offer the only available space.

4]στον: c rather than ν or π. Only 2–3 letters are missing; a word of the shape υ – υ is required, e.g. ἄπιστον, ἀρεστόν, ἄριστον, ἥδιστον.

5]ηνον: the traces are consistent with]πνον,]παιον,]πνοαι,]ιτνον, only the first of which seems likely. δει]πνον is the requisite length and can be made to give reasonable sense.

πνηρόν: better taken as an interjection than as a modifier of ἰμάτιον. Either by A or a third speaker, cf. *Dysk.* 220, *Pk.* 390, *Heros* 17.

ἐὰν θ[: most likely a condition to be completed in the next line, though ἐὰν cannot be ruled out.

7]ξηνη: surely a feminine participle, προνοουμένη or sim.

8 Cf. Alciphron 4. 6. 1: ἐν οἷς αὐτὴ χρησίμη γέγονα.

9]τα περιέξεται .[: the future is marginally preferable to –εχεται (cf. lines 12, 13, 16). Perhaps ‘these things will defend you’, though other meanings are possible, cf. *Ep.* 505.

10 ἀποκεκλεις[: the trace is definitely rounded, c rather than μ; probably ἀποκεκλείσεται. On the spelling see Mayser I.I. §7. 2b. Given ἀνοίξει (line 13), the subject is likely to be a door, cf. *Ep.* 1075–6.

11]καταχέουσί σου .[: cf. Alciphron 3. 22. 1: πολλὴν κατέχεε βλασφημίαν τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπομενόντων, or 3. 15. 3: οἶνον. . . καταχέοντες.

12]απολεῖς[: ἀπολεῖ c[ε or ἀπολεῖς. Cf. K-T 144: ἀπολεῖ τοῦτο σε.

14]ρεισσι: apparently also below, line 26. An aorist infinitive or middle imperative of ερειδω or compound? ἐρείδω occurs at *Dysk.* 406, though the text is vexed: † ἔρεισον ταῦτα δεῦρο.

16 μωκήσεται: 'she will mock'? Cf. Alciphron 3. 42. 2: ... τὰς θεραπανίδας κιχλιζούσας καὶ μωκωμένας καὶ γέλωτα τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀτυχίαν ποιουμένας...

18-19]ν υἱῷ θυγατρὶ τ' οὐ. [---] τοῦτο: apparently the thought is complete; 'this X is not fitting (or sim.) for a son and daughter'?

19 οὐ προαιροῦ[μαι: or sim. The *scriptio plena* here apparently indicates a change of speaker (see Handley, *Dysk.* p. 43). The line may belong to either speaker, but if ἀπομυττόμενος is rightly restored at the beginning of line 20, then the speaker is probably an old man (see below 21).

21 ἀ]πομυττόμεν[ος or sim. If this verb is repeated here from line 20, the repetition will be by a second speaker, see line 1 and below 24-5. For the meaning see Pollux 2. 78: ἤδη δέ τινες τῶν κωμικῶν τὸ ἐπὶ κέρδει ἐξαπατᾶν ἀπομύττειν εἶπον and compare Latin *emungo*; both words seem more appropriate for old men (cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 682 and K-T 427). See also Chr. Theodoridis, *ZPE* 26 (1977) 50-1.

23]θρμεν. c. c[: possibly a form in -μενος, but the traces are difficult; neither η nor ο will suit the termination; possibly a small, broken α? Since the traces are not in vertical alignment, it is unlikely to be a dicolon.

24]αὐτὸς ὁ σοφιστῆ[ς: 'the sophist himself'? Presumably the tone is disparaging, cf. Photius, s.v. σοφιστής: ἀπατεῶν παρὰ τὸ σοφίζεσθαι ὃ ἐστὶ λόγοις ἀπατᾶν.

25 [ποῖος c]οφιστής; or sim.? with a change in construction following?

χρῶ λα[: probably λαβῶν, cf. Aristoph., *Th.* 212: ... ἐμοὶ δ' ὃ τι βούλει χρῶ λαβῶν. But, I suppose a vocative cannot be ruled out; if so Λά[χης?

Fr. 4

. . .
]. . [
]νατ[
]. . [
. . .

1 Traces of two letters τ.
2]ν, a vertical, ν, μ
3 Traces of 2-3 letters, square in shape, π, η,

Fr. 5

. . .
]. εϛ[
. . .

Initially a high dot, then rounded letter with cross-bar; then ν or broken μ.

3432. ANON., NEW COMEDY

36 4B.98/E (2-4)a

6.3 × 12.4 cm.

Early third century

This scrap contains what appears to be part of a dialogue from New Comedy written as prose. It is written across the fibres on the back of an account, two pieces of which were subsequently joined to form the writing surface for the present text. The papyrus itself is coarse, with left and bottom margins preserved, but broken at top and right. The break at the right is even; all of the letters along this edge are intact, and in some cases there is a space before the break, which suggests that the papyrus had a flaw, perhaps a vertical crease or join which predated the writing and along which it was later broken. There is also a vertical crease which bisects the papyrus, the letters on the left of which are slightly higher than those on the right. The hand is upright and quickly written (note the *rho* made in one movement) with separate capitals that have some affinity with the mixed style; it is not unlike XLII 3005, though the letters are more irregularly formed. It should no doubt be dated to the early third century. Tremata are the only lectional aid (4); there are at least two itacisms (8, 11) and one error (11).

The individual lines that remain are consistently metrical and can be most economically reconstructed as iambic trimeters; this supposes some $1-1\frac{1}{2}$ metra (4-6 syllables) missing from each line. Trochaics, while theoretically possible, do not allow a consistent pattern; a variation of 5-15 syllables per line is too erratic to be acceptable. The iambic pattern gives a prose line length of $2\frac{1}{2}-3$ metra in a fairly broad column of 25-28 letters.

While dramatic texts written as prose are relatively rare, at least two parallels exist - a nearly contemporary Oxyrhynchus papyrus (edited by E. W. Handley as P. Turner 5), containing the prologue of Menander's *Kitharistes* (with a prose line length of $1\frac{1}{2}-2$ metra), and VI 864, a third-century fragment of an anthology with a passage in tragic iambs (the line length is uncertain). There is nothing to suggest that this piece is from an anthology, but I suppose the possibility cannot be excluded (see note on 11 below).

The dialogue, in so far as it is recoverable, seems to be standard New Comedy fare; there is mention of a Moschion (7), a child (5), and someone's mother (2) who may be a speaker, if the vocative is correctly restored. The dialogue may have to do with the revelation of parentage or the disposition of a child (see below, notes on 5 and 13), but the fragment suggests no particular play, nor can the speakers' parts be assigned with any conviction.

	τ[3-4]cv.ε...ν[		τ[3-4]cv.ε...ν[
	μητ[.]ειπεμοισα[		μητ[ερ] εἰπέ μοι σα[
	καμ[.]οντριαθλι[		καμα[.]ον τρισαθλι[
	ακουσονῖκετεύω[		ἄκουσον, ἰκετεύω[
5	διονγεγονετεκνο[	5	-διον γέγονε τέκνο[ν
	τουμοιφρασονοτο[		-του μοι φράσον ὁ το[
	μενοσημωνμοςχ[		-μενος ἡμῶν Μοσχ[ίων
	πρακτεταυταφαν[		-πρακται ταῦτα φαν[
	ομνυμιπανταστο[		ὄμνυμι πάντας το[ὺς θεοὺς
10	διονμεν[1-2]ν[.]ου[	10	-διον μεν[1-2]ν[.]ου[
	βαζειζετουτοσο[		βαδιζέτω οὗτος ο[
	τεςπαραγμενην [		-τεςπαραγμένην [
	κατελαβονηπορη[		κατέλαβον ἡπορη[

1 ν., π or ν; ε... , shallow, curved base with slanted descender, β, ζ, ξ; then looped foot, bottom of α or ε, then σ, ε, ο; possibly ὑπεξ- or συνεξ- 3 .[, low curved trace, possibly α, λ, μ, ν, but not ε. Also there appears to be ink above the break, an omission added above the line? 4 ἄκουσον, suits better than ἀκούων 7 η, apparently the left half of η rather than ε. The papyrus is broken here along a vertical fold 8 Read -πρακται: φαν[right wedge of φ rather than ρ; high traces above tip of descender with extraneous ink to right? 10]ν[, shallow bowl shape at midline; ν, μ or ω;], either ρ or φ 12 After ν, a blank space the width of one letter. Punctuation? 13 Above η[, a rounded trace, as if a correction or insertion, but not κ or μ.

The following metrical scheme is offered *exempli gratia*:

2-3	[] μητ[ερ], εἰπέ μοι σα[- υ - υ] κα
3	μα[.]ον τρισαθλι[- υ - υ - υ -]
4-5	ἄκουσον, ἰκετεύω [υ - υ -] διον
5-6	γέγονε τέκνο[ν υ - υ -] του μοι φράσον
6-7	ὁ το[- υ - υ -] μενος ἡμῶν Μοσχ[ίων
8	υ - πέ]πρακται ταῦτα φαν[υ - υ -]
9-10	ὄμνυμι πάντας το[ὺς θεοὺς υ -] διον
10-11	μεν[-]ν[.]ου[υ - υ -] βαδιζέτω
11-12	οὗτος ὁ[υ - υ -] κα]τεςπαραγμένην
13	[υ - υ -] κατέλαβον ἡπορη[υ -]

2 μητ[. . .]: either *μητέρα* or *μητέρα*; *μήτηρ* is too long for the space; *μήτ* or *μήτε* (with elision neglected) too short.

εἶπέ μοι requires a question in the vicinity; the phrase usually is placed within the question, but may occasionally follow. Perhaps the line should be punctuated [τῆν] *μητ[έρ]*; *εἶπέ μοι.*, with *κα* beginning the answer.

κα is difficult; I find no parallel for the obvious restoration, a form of *καφέε* used with *εἶπέ μοι*, though it may go with an answer.

3 *καμφ[. . .]ον*: after *μ*, the low hooked trace precludes any vowel but *α*, after which only one letter can be missing. Articulations that treat all letters as part of the same word (e.g., forms of *κάμνω*, *κάματον*, *κάμαχον*) entail difficulties in metre and sense. Articulations that divide the letters into two or more words include *-καμα* (= *-χ ἄμα*) at the end of the preceding line, with aspiration unmarked; *-κα* at the end of the preceding line, either as a verb termination (presumably belonging to an answer) or from, e.g., *κακά*, *δέκα*, *ἔνεκα*. The remaining letters *μφ[. . .]ον* may be, e.g., *μα[λ(λ)]ον* or *μα[λ] λ'ον* (if the ink above belongs to a correction), or *μά [τ]όν*, an exegetic oath (cf. fr. 311 K-T and Schol. Aristoph., *Ran.* 1374) with *τριθάλλι[ε]*. However, nothing seems obviously correct and the possibility remains that there is an omission or error here.

4 *ἄκουσον, ἰκετεύω*: 'listen, I beseech you'; the construction is frequent. Cf. *Dysk.* 907; *Sam.* 518, 719; *Ph.* 510; *Ep.* 365, 430. Perhaps followed by *σε* or *εἰ* ἔγώ.

5 *-διον γέγονε τέκνο[ν]*: *παῖδιον* is the easiest restoration here and at line 10; if correct, the thought must be parallel to *Sam.* 247-8: *νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ | παῖδιον ἐκείνου γέγονεν . . .* or *Fab. Inc.* 54: *τὸ παῖδιον γὰρ γέγονεν ἐκ τούτου*; *τέκνο[ν]* should be either a vocative or an appositive.

6 *-του μοι φράσον* is peculiar; one expects, e.g., *κάμοι φράσον* or *τοῦτό μοι φράσον* but not a longer expression.

8 *πέπρακται*: cf. *Ep.* 319: *τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην | φανερόν ποιήσεις. ταῦτ' ἀφαν[ῆ]* is also possible.

9 *ὄμνυμι*: cf. Aristoph., *Th.* 274; and Men., fr. 279 K-T: *ὄμνυμί σοι τὸν Ἥλιον*.

10 *μεν[. . .]ου*: the restoration *Μεν[ά]ν[δ]ρου*, while tempting, cannot be justified by the rest of the text. This scrap is wholly unlike a collection of *Sententiae* in which the name of the poet might be expected to occur (cf. Jaekel, *Menandri Sententiae*, Comp. I 2, 4, II 3), nor is it an hypothesis or commentary on a play. There is the remote possibility that line 10: *διον μεν[. . .]ου* = the name of a play + author, e.g., *Ἐνχειρίδιον Μεν[ά]ν[δ]ρου*, and that this piece is from an anthology of dialogues, but other restorations are possible, e.g., an infinitive *μέν[ει]ν* or perhaps *μεν[εῖ]ν* following *ὄμνυμι*.

11 *βαζειζετοουτος*: apparently at least one error and an itacism are involved. If trimeter, the easiest correction assumes that the scribe intended a form of *βαδίζω* and anticipated by writing *ζ* for *δ* (cf. F. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri*, vol. 1, p. 76 (1)); possible articulations are (1) *βαδιζέτω | οὔτος ο[* (with line end after *βαδιζέτω*); (2) *βαδιζέτω <τοι> οὔτος ο[* or sim.; (3) *βαδίζετ' {ο} οὔτος ο[* with aspiration unmarked.

12 *-τεσπαραγμένην*: probably *κατασπαράσσω* = 'tear into shreds' rather than *σπαράσσω*; compare Aristoph., *Eq.* 729: *τὴν εἰρεσιώνην μου κατασπαράξατε* and Lucian, *Asin.* 22: *παρθένον . . . κατασπαραγμένην τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κόμην*. The participle is more likely to refer to an object (e.g., a garment) than a person. Compare also the compound *διασπαράσσω* in P. Ant. I 15 (= Austin 240), used of a cloak, presumably a birth token: *χλαμύδος ἤμισυ διεσπαραγμένης παλαιᾶς*.

13 *κατέλαβον ἠπορη[. . .]*: either *κατέλαβον ἠπόρη[κα δέ]* or sim., or *κατέλαβον ἠπορη[μένον]* (sc. *παῖδιον*?) or sim.

3433. MENANDER, fr. 740 K.-Th.² .

34 4B.78/C (7-9)a

6.9 × 12.2 cm. Late first century B.C./first century A.D.

Right-hand part of 30 lines from one column, with upper margin. The hand is an informal capital of medium size with a slight slope, roughly bilinear except for β , ϕ , ψ ; ι is often smaller than the normal letters; o , in two strokes (as ϵ , c and θ), often has the shape of a heart; τ sometimes has the cross-bar broken. The interlinear space is rather narrow. The writing may be roughly ascribed to the Julio-Claudian period: cf. P. Amst. 1 or the more stylised hands of XXIV 2387 (E. G. Turner, *GMAW* no. 15) or XXXI 2545 (*GMAW* no. 37), assigned 'end of 1 B.C. or early 1 A.D.'.

No punctuation or other lectional signs; elision is tacitly made (5, 16). Iota adscriptum is written. In 15 $\kappa\nu\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\iota$ is more probably a spelling for long iota than a mere itacistic error. Omissions of a letter have been corrected above the line in 5 and 26, possibly by the first hand. The back is blank.

The first 18 lines are quoted as a diatribe in iambic trimeters from an unidentified comedy by Menander (fr. 740 K.-Th.²) in [Plut.], *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 103 c-e, the Plutarchean authorship of which has been defended by recent editors of the text (Babbitt, 1928; Hani, 1972). The stage situation (a slave, probably a paidagogos, sententiously encouraging his young master) is too common in New Comedy and the themes handled (equality of human kind, instability of fortune, need to accept misfortune if moderate) are too general ones in Menander to venture a guess at a more precise ascription of the fragment. What remains of the 12 additional lines in the papyrus seems too scanty to give a better chance of identification. There are some indications (cf. 19-21) that a more vivid dialogue resumes in this part of the text. No dicolon appears at the end of the lines, but a change of speaker could have been simply indicated by a paragraphus under the lost beginning of some verses.

The text of the papyrus seems to be of fair quality. It supports several emendations (2, 5, 11 and 18) to the text of the *Moralia*, whose quotations probably derive from a hellenistic gnomologion (cf. J. Hani, *Plutarque, Consolation à Apollonios*, 1972, 49-50) and has some interesting variant readings of its own (1, 2, 4). It confirms the opinion that the manuscripts of the *Moralia* are rather on the poor side, as their archetype already was, and that the readings peculiar to the Planudean recension (*II*) may generally be discarded as byzantine conjectural alterations of a closed tradition. However it must be put to the credit of the *Moralia* tradition that the papyrus confirms 3 readings which had been suspected of being corrupt: 9 $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$; 14 $\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\alpha\iota$; 15 $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ (cf. A. W. Gomme-F. H. Sandbach, *Menander. A Commentary*, 1973, 719-720).

The text of 1-18 has been collated with Paton-Wegehaupt-Gärtner, *Moralia* I², 1974. The present edition benefited from a first study of the text by Mr David Hughes.

]ετωνα.[.....]ος
].τεδια.ελ.[.]ς
]υτυχωναει
]ωμολογηκεσοι
 5]τιγαρσεψεν^μένος
]πιτοισαυτοιςνομοις
]αστοναερα
]αγικωτερονλαλω
]καιλογ.[.]..[
 10]λογωνανθρω[.]οσει
]θαπτονπροσογκονκαιπαλιν
]ητα[.]ωιονουθενλαμβανει
]ικαιω[.]αζθενεστατονγαρον
]ςτ.[.]..[.]ικονομειταιπραγμασιν
 15].πλε[.]στασυντρειβεικαλα
]ρ[.]αλλο[.]τατ[.]οφιμαπωλεσας
]ςτιμετριασοικακα
]τολυπηρον[.]ερε
].ματ..[.]ιδα[
 20].λωσαγν[.]ω
].υτοδα[...].ις
].οισμ.[....]φορει.
]πραγ[
]ςκ.ωνε[.....].ν
 25]....ιατρο[.....]ομει
]....ε.ο[.....]αλωσ
]τας.[...].[.....].λις
]....φ[].
]....[
 30].[

.

1 .[: foot of oblique as of λ (not ν) 2].: upper part of vertical α.: right tip of τ λ.[: end of low curve (ε, c; not o, ω) 5 μ added above the line between c and ε 9 λογ.[.].[: foot of upright; one letter lost; foot of upright; bottom arc as of εθoσω (λογι[ε]τε[ον] suitable) 14 .τ.[.].[: left arc of circle as for o[.] or ω; shallow curve 15].π.: see commentary 19]..: lower end of descending diagonal as for α or λ; in the upper left corner of the space, part of a sloping vertical (rather unsuited to γ), it is not excluded that both traces could be parts of a ν τ.[: right side as of ω or o; upper tip of a letter .[.].[: part of a high curve; space (if the following letter is narrow); traces of upper end of upright (joining above horizontal or curve coming from the left as for μ or π?) δa[: a is probably the last letter of the line, but it could be followed by a very low letter (a small ι as in 4), thus ιδα or ιδα[ι] 20].λ: faint traces of part of a cross-bar (?) and of bottom of an upright or of a lower curve]ω: right side as of o or ω, but bottom of curve more angular than expected 21].: high right side as for o].ιc: upper curve as for ε or c 22].: traces of lower part of curve (as for o, ω, θ) or upright (as for ι with oblique serif at the foot, cf. 4) μ.[: ends of vertical and horizontal curves joining above, perhaps with left end of a cross-bar as for ε ει.[: left tip of oblique of ν rather than a high stop 24].κ.: foot of diagonal as for α or λ, above c has been added; after κ, traces of a high oblique element as for ρ, τ or ν].ν: tip of descending oblique as for α 25].ιa: before ι upper curve of ρ (or β?) 26].ε.ο[: right-hand arc (o or ω); left tip of high horizontal (τ ?); ε or θ; left oblique (if not part of preceding ε) and foot of upright as for ν 27 c.[: upright and top as for τ, γ or π].[: diagonal].λ: top right arc as for o 28]..: triangular letter, probably α].[: upper part of oblique (α, λ, δ, ν)

[N.B. In these notes, 'II' refers to the codices Planudei of Plutarch; the papyrus is referred to as 'pap'.]

1 ἄλλ[ων] pap. (suppl. Parsons): πάντων codd. The *lectio difficilior* of the papyrus is a better approach to the contrast 'you... the others', whereas πάντων looks like a trivialisation introduced by [Plutarch] or his source in quoting the text. For ἄλλοι, the 'general case' with the implicit announcement of an exception, cf. Lycurgus, *Leocr.* 102 μόνου τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν.

2 τε pap. (iam Schaefer): γε codd.

διατελε[ε]ς pap.: διατελεῖν codd. The variants illustrate the alternative constructions of ἐφ' ὧι (τε), with the future indicative or the infinitive, cf. E. Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* II 681. The author of the *Consolatio*, or the gnomology he used, seems to have been responsible for introducing the infinitive, with a clear loss to the dramatic effectiveness of the speech.

4 ὠμολόγηκε pap.: ὠμολόγησε codd. We should not exclude the possibility that ὠμολόγηκε represents a late hellenistic confusion of perfect and aorist. But it is more likely that the new reading of the papyrus offers another improvement to the text. Here, in the first part of the dilemma, the aorist ἐγένου expresses an open condition in past time, not a counterfactual condition, cf. the present indicative ἀναγκάσει. Then the perfect ὠμολόγηκε (if right) opposes the promise made at the birth of the child (ἐγένου) to the permanent engagement of a god that the promise still holds good; compare the other perfects (ἐστί c' ἐψευσμένος, πεποίηκ') which follow.

5 c' ἐψευσμένος pap. (iam Grotius): ἐψευσμένος codd., corrected into -μενον in the Planudean recension.

7-8 τὸν ἀέρα|τὸν κοινόν pap., codd., except that II presents an unmetrical text τὸν κοινὸν ἀέρα, a literal reminiscence of the *Sapientia Salomonis* 7. 3 καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ γενόμενος ἔσπασα τὸν κοινὸν ἀέρα: cf. R. Kassel, *Untersuchungen z. griechischen u. römischen Konsolationsliteratur* (1958) 64-5.

11 ὄγκον pap.: οἶκτον ΠΦ, ὄψος rell. The papyrus confirms the old conjecture of Duebner against οἶκτον (this reading will have developed in two stages: first ΟΓΚΟΝ was corrupted to ΟΙΚΟΝ, then οἶκον was wrongly 'corrected' to οἶκτον, with a tragic flavour; this destroyed the contrast ὄγκον - ταπεινότητα) and ὄψος (an emendation in the sub-archetype Δ? or an intrusive gloss, which had survived the corruption of ὄγκον and was taken as a correction in part of the early medieval tradition?).

13 The papyrus agrees with most of the MSS. against ἀθνετέρον of AE (part of II) and ὦν of Π.

14 ο]οικονομείται: the papyrus confirms the unanimous reading of the MSS. against the suspicion and emendations of Western philology: cf. A. W. Gomme–F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (1973) 720. We have therefore to interpret the text as transmitted; we face a choice between a practically unattested use of the middle, and a passive with a connotation that is quite unfamiliar to us (a comic touch of high-sounding obscurity, as e.g. in the ‘philosophical’ tirades of Gorgias, *Dyscolus* 271–98?); and a further choice between the two possible meanings of the dative (‘by...’ or ‘for...’). An interpretation ‘man sees his life determined by’ (or ‘organised for...’) ‘the most ambitious undertakings’ cannot be supported by real parallels; cf. however τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον οἰκονομεῖν of Isocr., *ad Dem.* 5.

15 δ].: the MSS. of the *Moralia* give δή, with the exception of Θυ (a sub-family of the Δ-group), where δέ is read, the vulgate of modern editions. The papyrus has traces that might be accommodated to either reading. In πλε, the lower part of the right-hand upright of pi is clear; before that, some way to the left, apparently part of an upright, at half-height; before that, apparently a very short horizontal trace, level with the letter-tops. One interpretation would be]επ, so that the short horizontal represents the cap of epsilon, and the upright is the left-hand side of pi; but we should have to assume a pi rather wider than usual. The alternative is]ηπ, where the upright represents the right-hand side of eta, and the left-hand side of pi is lost in the rubbed area; but we have then to interpret the ‘short horizontal’ as part of the first upright of eta. On balance, the former looks more likely; but there is no certainty. Philological considerations are equally indecisive. Editors print δέ. But, were it not for the unusual position of δή, the variant ὅταν δή is not only a *lectio difficilior*, but is more appropriate to the movement of the phrase, with the value of ἀλλ’ ὅταν δή in Plato, *Lysis* 217d; cf. on ὅταν δή, J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles* 219 f.

18 λυπηρόν pap. (iam Nauck): λοιπόν codd.

19 -ματος or -μάτων, followed by a word ending in -ιδα or -ιδα[ι]. A vocative Μίδα would be a possible reading; Μίδακ is attested as a slave-name (e.g. Aristoph., *Wasps* 433), but not in Menander.

25]...ιατρο[could be divided as . . ρια τρο[π or τρο[φ.

3434. UNIDENTIFIED PROSE

37 3 B. 87/L (1)a

5 × 17 cm.

Third century

On the back of the larger fragment of **3439** (*Iliad* v), written across the fibres and upside down in relation to the Homer, there are line-ends of an unidentified prose-text. The longest line is of c. 2.5 cm.; about the original line-length we know only that it was less than 7.5 cm., since the back of the smaller fragment is blank. The hand is a rapid, sloping example of the ‘Severe’ (‘Mixed’) style, to be compared with that of **223** (Roberts, *GLH* 21a) and assigned to the third century. There are no lectional signs.

The hand suggests a literary or subliterate text, rather than a document. But the genre and content remain uncertain. The way the text is placed upside down compared to the Homer suggests that it could be a commentary on the front-text, which could be consulted by turning over the roll without changing hands (cf. Turner, *GMAW* p. 16 n. 4). But none of the surviving scholia to the passage are compatible with the remains. The most substantial verbal clue is line 8]αποτροι, which can hardly be articulated in any other way than ἀπὸ Τροι-. Τροί|[ac might again point to a Homeric story. Τροί|[ζήνος might fit a story about Theseus (e.g. he arrives in Athens, 9; his father does not recognise him, 10; his stepmother Medea plots against him, 14, and persuades Aegeus to kill him, 17). The text could then be commentary, mythography, dramatic hypothesis, and much else.

]...[
]λλ[[α]]'ο'[[χο]] [
]ποτε
]τουτεταυ
 5]πεξερ
].α[[β]]'λ'ηι -
]ε. . ταυ
]αποτροι
].σασειε
 10].γνοου
]εκμορ
]μενη
].θη.
]τρυιας
 15].γαρ
]ε. .
]ποκτει
]. . επι
]...

2 Perhaps α]λλαχο[υ corrected to α]λλο[[θι.

5 ε]πεξερ|[χ-, υ]πεξερ|[χ-? The former can have an intellectual as well as a physical sense ('pursue', 'discuss' a subject; cf. οη 7).

6 The first trace is consistent with kappa: which allows the guess that E]καβηι was corrected to E]καληι. If this is right, we may have a narrative of Theseus' expedition to Marathon, and meeting with Hecale, and then a retrospective account of his earlier arrival in Athens and encounter with Medea: the same elements, but in chronological order, in the *Diegesis* of Callimachus' poem (Call., ed. Pfeiffer, I p. 227). Then e.g. 4 ταυ|[ρ-, 5 υ]περξερ|[χ-(κρύφα...έξελθών *Dieg.*).

7 Possibly]ειμ: την υποθ]ειμ ταυ|[την one of many possibilities.

8 Apart from the suspect τροιά (quoted and glossed *filum* in *CGL*), the only possible words in τροι are Τροία and Τροιζήν and derivatives.

9 -]ησαε or -]ισαε ειε?

10 αγνοου-?

14 If the word ended with the line, μη]τρυιας seems the only possible supplement.

15]η γαρ,].ι γαρ?

16 e.g. επι.

17 α]ποκτει|[ν-.

II. EXTANT LITERARY TEXTS

3435. DEMOSTHENES, *Olynth.* 1 22–28

43 5B.70/C (1–3)a

21 × 19.5 cm.

Second century

Eight fragments joined together form the remains of four columns, which were c. 6.3–6.5 cm. wide and c. 14.6 cm. tall. Spaces between the columns are 1.4–1.6 cm., upper margin c. 3.4 cm. The lower margin is not complete, but the height of the roll may be guessed at about 23 cm. Cols. ii and iii consist of 28 lines; col. i probably had the same number. Line endings are regular and occasionally a line filler is used. The average number of letters per line is 21, individual lines varying between 17 and 24. Written in this way the first Olynthiac would have taken up some 16 columns or a roll of c. 1.3 metres. All three Olynthiacs could have been accommodated in a roll of less than four metres. The back is blank.

The hand falls in the large category of the 'informal round' style, analysed in E. G. Turner, *GMAW* pp. 24–5, cf. 106 and pls. 62–4. The overall impression is light and graceful, although the shapes of individual letters vary considerably. Some alphas are formal and pointed, others rounded. Upsilon shows three different forms, from the very formal to the cursive. Other letters show minor variations. Serifs occur frequently. There may be a degree of conscious archaism, but the examples of formal upsilon, divided formal tau, and of kappa falling into two separate halves, suggest that this is not a late hand. It belongs probably to the second century, possibly to the early part of it.

Punctuation is by paragraphus, sometimes combined with a high stop. In two cases there is a high stop without trace of a paragraphus (ii 17, iii 3). There are no accents or breathings. Iota adscript is written regularly in the dative singular, but not elsewhere. Full and elided forms are written indifferently, and where elision is written it remains unmarked.

The text has been collated with and supplemented from Butcher's (OCT), but in order to get the fullest impression of the medieval manuscripts I have consulted Vömel's copious apparatus (Halle, 1857).

The text shows the usual eclecticism compared with the manuscripts. Once it agrees with the vulgate against SY (iv 1), once with Y against S (iv 8). In ii 9 the papyrus has *πρὸς τὴν χάραν* like cod. Aug. 2, which was placed in Group 2 by Vömel but not used by Butcher; all others have *πρὸς τῆ χάρα*. In iii 16 it goes against Y, but we cannot tell whether it followed S or O. There are apparently nonsensical readings, *κωλυσειν* for *κωλύσει* (ii 27–8), *επεισε* for *ἐκέισε* (iv 4). In iii 10 one word was apparently replaced by another of similar sound, in iii 17–19 there was a substantial unexpected variation, see nn.

Parts of §§ 25–26 are also extant in XV 1810^{5–7} (pp. 195–6).

i

τ]ους λιμε
 νας και τας αγορας ετι] δωροι
 εν αυτω καρπουσθαι τ]α γαρ κ[ο]!
 να τα Θετταλων απο τ]ουτων
 5 δεοι διοικειν ου Φιλι]ππον
 λαμβανειν ει δε τουτ]ων α
 ποστερησεται των χρ]ηματων
 εις στενον κομιδη τ]α της
 τροφης τοις ξενοις αυτ]ωι κα
 10 ταστησεται αλλα μην] τον § 23
 γε Παιονα και τον Ιλ]λυριον
 και απλως τουτους απαν]τας
].

ii

μισαντας ετοιμως συν]αρα
 σθαι τα πραγματα και π[ρεσβ]εγο § 24
 μενους εφ α δει και ς[τρατε]νο
 μενους αυτου]ς και παρ]οξυνο
 5 τα[ς] τους αλλ[ους απαν]τας λο
 γιζομενους [ει Φιλιπ]πος λα
 βοι καθ ημων [τοιουτον καιρον
 και πολεμος [γενοιτο προς
 την χωραν [πως αν αυτον
 10 ριεςθε ετοιμ]ως εφ υμας
 ελθειν ειτ] [ουκ αιχυνεσθε
 ει μη δ α πα]θουι αν ει δυναι
 τ εκεινος τ]αυτα ποιησαι
 καιρο]ν εχον]τες ου τολμη
 15 σετ]ε ετι τοιυν ω ανδρες § 25
 Αθηναιοι [μηδε τουθ υμας

λανθαγετω' [οτι νυν αιρε
 ει[ς ες]τιν υμι[ν ποτερ υμας
 εκει χρη πολε[μειν η παρ υ
 20 μιν εκεινον' [εαν μεν γαρ αν
 τεχη τα των Ο[λυνθιων υ
 μεις εκει πολ[εμησετε και
 τη[ν] εκεινου [κακως ποιη
 σετε την υπαρ[χουσιν και την
 25 οικειαν ταυτη[ν] αδεως καρ
 π[ο]υμενοι εαν [δ εκεινα Φι
 λιππος λαβ[η τις αυτον κωλυ
 σειν] δευρο β[αδιζειν Θηβαιοι

iii

μη λιαν πικρον ειπειν η και §26
 συνεισβαλουσιν ετο[ι]μως αλ
 λα Φωκεις' ο[ι] την οικειαν ου
 χ' οιοι τε οντες φυλαττειν ε
 5 αν μη βοηθησετε υμεις η αλ
 λος τις αλλ ω ταν ουχι βου
 λησεται των ατοπωτατων
 μεντ αν ειη ει α νυν ανοι >
 αν οφ[λιςκα]γων ομως εκλα
 10 λ[ει τα]υτα δυνηθεις μη τα
 . . . αλλα μην ηλ]ικα γ εστι §27
 τα διαφορ ενθαδ] η κει πο
 λεμειν ουδε λογου] προ[οδειν
 ηγουμαι ει γαρ υμας] δεη
 15 σειν αυτους τριακοντ]α ημε
 ρας μονας εξω γεν]εσθαι .[
 στρατο]πεδωι .[
] χωρας μη[
 δενος οντος εν αυ]τηι πολε
 20 μίου λεγω πλειον α]ν οημα[ι

ζημιωθῆναι του]ς γεωργουν
 τας υμων η ος] εις απαντα
 τον προ του πολε]μον δεδα
 πανησθε ει δε δ]η πολεμος
 25 τις ηξει ποσα χ]ρ[η] νομισαι >
 ζημιωσεται] κα[ι προσε]θ η υ
 βρις και εθ] η των [πραγ]ματων
 αιχυνη ου]δεμια[ς ελαττων

iv

ζῆμια τοι[ς γεωφροσιν παντα
 δη ταυτα [δει συνιδοντας α
 παντας βο]ηθειν και απωθειν
 επεισε το[ν πολεμον τους
 5 μεν ευπο[ρους ιν υπερ των
 πολλων ω[ν] κα[λως ποιουν
 τες εχου]σι μικρ αναλiskon
 τες τα λ[οιπα αδεως καρπων
 ται τους [δ εν ηλικιαι ινα την
 10 του πολε]μειν εμπειριαν
 εν τη Φ[ιλιππου χωραι κτη
 σαμενοι [φοβεροι φυλακες
 της οικε]ιας ακεραιου γενων
 τ]αι του[ς δε λεγοντας ιν αι των
 15 π]επολιτευμ[ενων αυτοις
 ευθυναι] ρα[δισαι γενωνται
 ως [ο]ποι ατ[τ αν υμας περι
 στη] τα πραγ[ματα τοιουτοι
 κ]ρ[ι]ται και τ[ων πεπραγμενων
 20 α]υτοις εσε[σθε χρηστα δ ειη
 παντ[ο]ς εξ[ινεκα
 (vac.)

§ 28

].[

col. i

12-13 The trace in 13 is a mere speck from the top of a letter. From the end of 12 to the top of col. ii about 330 letters are missing. At an average of 21 letters per line these would cover 15.7 lines, that is, probably 16 lines, which would give col. i 28 lines like ii and iii.

col. ii

9 τῆν χωραν[. πρὸς τῆν χώραν Aug. 2 (Vömel), πρὸς τῆν χώρα all others. There is some unexplained stray ink round the second nu, but it does not look like a correction and the first nu is certainly intact and uncorrected.

26 εαν. ἄν MSS.

28 σε{ν}. The superfluous nu is presumably just an error.

None of the conjectural additions to the text made after *Θηβαῖοι* by older editors is likely to have stood in this line, cf. XV 1810⁵⁻⁷ 13-14 n (p. 196). It looks as if it contained 24 letters, the maximum number found elsewhere.

col. iii

5 βοηθησετε. The error is shared with Pal. 1. 2 (Vömel). All others have βοηθήσειθ'.

10-11 It seems likely that the papyrus had τα[ξει in place of πράξει. This seems to give no welcome sense, and would presumably be a mere error. XV 1810⁵⁻⁷ 23 has πρα[ξει, like all others.

12 η κει. Eta is certain although the left hasta and part of the crossbar are missing. ἡ ἐκεῖ OCT without entry in the app. crit., ἡ'κεῖ Teubner similarly. S has ηκει, see Vömel, pp. 10-11.

15 The doubtful letter is very badly damaged, but alpha seems better than theta (τριακον]θ').

16 Either μόνας (S, vulg.), or μόνον (O) seems to have been here. Y omits it.

16-18 The received text has ἔξω γενέσθαι καὶ ὅς' ἀνάγκη στρατοπέδω χρωμένους τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνειν. Here in 16 the trace after γεν]εσθαι (in which the theta is certain, though damaged) is an arc from the lower left of a rounded letter, i.e. not κ[αι, and in 18 λαμβανειν does not appear after χωρας. The absence of both καὶ and λαμβάνειν suggests strongly that the papyrus had a variant text without linked infinitives, e.g. γενέσθαι, ὅς' ἀνάγκη στρατοπέδω λαμβάνοντας or γ., ὅσοις ἀνάγκη στρατοπέδω χρωμένους. Unfortunately the last surviving letter of 17 is damaged so as to allow either chi or lambda.

25 The supposed line-filler may be only an off-set.

col. iv

1 ζημια. S and Y have ζημίας; ζημία vulgate.

4 επεισε. This seems to be a mere error for ἐκέισε.

22 This isolated trace is the right-hand tip of a horizontal. It seems most likely to have been part of the decoration round a colophon which is otherwise entirely lost. Cf. E. G. Turner, *GMAW*, pls. 14, 17, 18, 61.

3436-3437. DINARCHUS

The first of these items contains parts of Dinarchus, *In Demosthenem*, the second the end and colophon of Dinarchus, *In Philoclem*. They were found separately; but the close similarity of hand and format shows that they come from the same roll, or from twin rolls. The two speeches together would require c. 95 + c. 19 columns = c. 114 columns of writing, or c. 8 m (26 feet) of papyrus, which is not too much for a single roll.

This was a handsome manuscript. Height c. 28 cm.; upper margin 3.5 cm. minimum, lower margin 4.5 cm.; column height 20 cm., with about 35 lines; inter-columnium c. 2 cm.; final margin c. 9 cm. The columns are narrow, as often in oratorical texts (Turner, *GMAW* p. 8), c. 5 cm., with 10-16 letters per line; single or double space-fillers occur at line-ends. The hand is a fine example of the 'Severe' ('Formal Mixed') style, datable to the late second or early third century. Occasional accents, breathings and diaereses; punctuation by middle stop and paragraphus in

3436, but not in **3437**; a single apostrophe in **3437** vi 12. The text has been quite carefully corrected, in part by the original scribe, in part by one or more other hands (one of these, which used a thinner pen, may also be responsible for some of the lectional signs). The backs are blank.

This copy has some textual interest. It confirms certain conjectures at **3436** B i 15 and **3437** v 22 f., and protects a much emended word at **3436** B ii 20. It sides now with N against A (**3436** B i 30, 33 f., iii 10 f.), now with A against N (**3436** A i 7, 7 f., B iii 34 f., **3437** ii 16); and with both of them against the vagaries of N². It contains a surprising number of unique readings, mostly minor additions and omissions, and variations of word-order. Note especially **3437** ii 13 f., where the papyrus provides an unexpected supplement to an expected lacuna; and v 7 f., where the version of the papyrus is much more effective and rhetorical than that of the MSS. **3437** certainly confirms the view that the MSS. text of *In Philoclem* is of doubtful quality.

The only other papyrus of Dinarchus so far published is P. Ant. II 81, *In Philoclem* §§3-4; the recto of the same leaf contains an unknown oration, P. Ant. II 62, perhaps by the same orator.

Collated with the text of N. C. Conomis (Teubner, 1975).

3436. DINARCHUS, *In Demosthenem* 7-8, 108-111

42 5B.72/M (12)

Fr. A 6.5 × 9 cm.
B 14.5 × 25 cm.

Second/third century

Fr. A

.

ν]η ζ[ητειν (§7)
]. . [
δι]α τα[ς γενομε
νας ζ[η[τησεις επη
5 νεσα[τε ους δ η
πολις πας[α ου δυ
[[α]] ναται αναγ[κα
σαι τα δικαια π[οι
ειν κατα του[τω]ν
10 η βουλη ψευδε[ις α
ποφα[ς]εις πεπ[οι
ηται. ω ηρακλ[εις
δια τι ουν εν τ[ωι
(§8)
δημωι συν[εχω
15 ρεις ω δ]ημο[σθενες
· · · · ·

1-2 ἐκείνη ζητεῖν προσετάξατε MSS. The second trace in 2 looks most like sigma; πρ]ος[εταξατε και would suit the line-length. In that case, the papyrus must have had a different reading, or a different order of words, which gave a short extra word after ζ[ητειν.

1 ζ[ητειν: so A: cφαλερωc N (cφαλ N²).

4-5 ἐπη]νεσα[τε: so A N: ἀπηλλάξατε (ἀπηλλάξα a corr.) N².

6 παρ[α: ᾶπαρ' MSS.

7 The initial alpha crossed through and dotted (by the first hand?).

7-8 αναγ[κα]σαι: so A: ἀναγκάζειν N (ζειν τα δι vel sec. Thal. ζειν τα δ N²).

10-11 α]ποφα[ρ]ειc: so A N: τὰc ἀποφάσεις N² (excluded by the space).

14 δημωι: so A N: τότε N².

Fr. B

	Col. i	Col. ii	Col. iii
1	[] (§ 108)		προς[ε]ληλ[υθε προς (§ 111)
	γραφαντα] κα[θ ε		το πολιτε]νεσθαι
	αυτου θαν]ατορ		γεγενημ[ενον
	την ζη]μιαν αλ		και αντι [μεν λο
5	λ η εκ του] αλλου β[ι		γογραφου [και μι
	ου εμφυ]τρος [.] αι >		cθ[ω]ο'ν' ταc δικ[αc λε
	cχροκερδει]α και πο		γοντος υπ[ερ Κτη
	νηρια τα]ντα ειc την		ειππου κα[ι Φορμι
	κεφαλη]ν αυτωι	. . . .	ωνοc και ε[τερων
10	τετραφε]ν μη ουν	(§ 109) ν[ων] θη[κασ φερ]ειν	(§ 110) πολλων π[λουσιω
	αχθεcθ]ε αυτου	δει τουc ε[ν φρο]νονν	τ[ω]ατ[ω]ον ο[ντα των
	κλαιοντ]οc και ο	ταc την ψ[η]φον	εν τη πολ[ει αν
	δυρομε]νου. πο	και οταν Δημο	τι δε αγνώ[τοc και
	λυ γαρ α]ν δικαιο	cθενηc [ε]ξαπα >	ουδεμιαν [πατρι
15	τερον] ελεησαιτε	τη[c]α[ι βου]λομε >>	κην δοξα]ν παρα
	την χωρ]αν ην	ν[οc και παρακ]ρου	των προγονων
	ουτοc ειc] κινδυ. >	[c]ο[α]μ[ενοc υμ]αc οι	παρειλη[φοτοc εν
	νουc καθ]ιστηειν	κτιζ[ηται κ]αι da	δοξον γεγ[ενημε
	τοιαυτα προ]απτων	κρυη[ι υ]μ[ει]c ειc το	νον.τη[ν δε πο
20	η τουc εξ ε]αυτ[ων]ηc	της πολ[εω]c cωμα	λιν ουκ αξ[ιωc εαυ
	γεγενη]μενουc	αποβλ[εψ]αντεc >	τ[ων]ηc ουδε τ[ηc των
	υμαc ικ]ετρευει[ν]	και τη[ν π]ροτερον	προγονων [δοξηc
	παραcτηc]αμενη	υπαρ[χουc]αν δο	διακειμεν[η]ν α
	τα υμετε]ρα τεκνα	ξα[ν] α[υ]τη[ι] αντι	φεντεc ουν [τουc ε
25	και γυν]αικαc τι	ριθετε [ποτερον	λεουc και τ[ουc φε
	μωρηc]αc θαι τον	υπαρχουc]αν δο	ρακιcμου[c τουc
	προδοτη]ν και cω	ξα]ν αυτηι αντι >	τουτου τη]ν [οcιαν
	ζειν εαυ]την υ	τιθε[τ]ε [ποτερο]ν	και την δικ[αιαν
	περ ηc οι π]ρογο >>	η πολιc ελεει[ν]ο	φερετε ψη[φον
30	νοι πολλ]ουc και	τερα δια τουτου] [γ]ε	και cκοπειτ[ε] το
	καλουc κινδυνουc	γονε[ν] η δια τη]ν	τημ πατριδ[ε] cυμ
	υπομειν]αντ[α]ειc	πο[λ]ι[ν] Δημοcθε	φερον μη [το Δη
	ελευθερα]ν υμιν	ν[ηc	μο]c θενει 'τ' ου[το γαρ
	αυτην παρ]αδε		εcτ]ι καλων [καγα
35	δωκαcιν ε]ν ηι πολ	. . . .	θω]ν δικαcτ[ων

Col. i

4-5 There is a detached scrap that may provide letters from the earlier part of these lines,]νζ[in 4 and]ηξ[in 5.

10 τετραφέ]ν: τέτραφε MSS. (τέτροφε Blass). No stop visible after nu (but the surface is damaged in part).

15 ελεησαιτε: ἐλεήσετε MSS. The optative, required by the preceding ἄν, had been conjectured by Dobrée.

17-18 οὗτος εἰς] κινδύ[νους καθ]ιστησιν: οὗτος εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους καθίστησιν N, οὗτος καθίστησιν εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους A. The papyrus shares the word-order of N; but, as the spacing shows, omitted τοὺς (or alternatively οὗτος).

17 After δν, an unexplained vertical trace (false anticipation of the nu following?).

19 The supplement is a little long; perhaps the papyrus had ταυτα πρ]αττων.

20 ων was crossed out, and ης written above, perhaps by the first hand (the thickness and colour of the strokes are similar, although the eta takes a cursive form not found in the main text).

21-9 The ink is badly rubbed; many letters would not be identifiable without the help of the MSS. text.

29 π]ρρρρ: if the reading is right (the word-division certainly suits the spacing in 30), gamma was anomalous, or corrected from something else.

30 πολλ]ους και [καλους: so N: καλοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς A.

31 κινδύ]νους: so A N: ἀγῶνας A^{pr}.

33-4 υμιν [αυτην: so N: αὐτὴν ὑμῖν A.

Col. ii

9 E.g. τ]α[ς των προγο.

15-16 So far as can be seen, the papyrus had the same text as the MSS. But in that case the paragraphus is misplaced.

17 σαμ]ενος was corrected to ομ]ενος (by a thinner pen?), by adding a right-hand arc to the sigma, and crossing out alpha.

20 σωμα: so MSS.: variously emended.

22-4 (and 25-7) τη]ν π]ροτερον ὑπαρ]χουσα]ν δοξα]ν α]ν]τη]ν pap.

τὴν πρότερον δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῇ N

τὴν πρότερον δόξαν αὐτῇ ὑπάρχουσαν A

25-8 [[ποτερον--- αντιτιθε]τ]ε]: the scribe jumped back from ποτερον to 22 προτερον, and copied 23-5 a second time. The superfluous words have been deleted by expunction.

24-5, 27-8 αντιτιθετε pap. (the first tau of 25 is vestigial; it may be that αντι(ι)θετε should be read instead): αντίθετε MSS.

Col. iii

1 [υθε προς (N) or [υθεν εις (A).

5-6 μι]σθω was written; a second hand filled in the top of omega, to make omicron, and added hypsilon above the line.

10-11 π[λουσιω]τατον: so N: -ώτερον A. τωτων was written first; then the first omega crossed out, with alpha suprascript, and the second filled in to make omicron, all apparently by the first hand.

20-1 εαυ]τον was written first; then ης was added above ον, perhaps by the first hand.

27-8 τη]ν [οσιαν] και την δικ]αιαν pap.

τὴν ὀσίαν καὶ δικαίαν A

τὴν δικαίαν καὶ τὴν ὀσίαν N.

33 `τ'ου]το: tau apparently added above the line by a thinner pen.

34-5 καλων [καγαθω]ν: so A: καλὸν κάγαθὸν N.

Two further scraps, originally assigned to the Dinarchus, probably do not belong: no placing for them has been found, and in any case the few surviving letters suggest a different hand.

3437. *DINARCHUS, In Philoclem 17–22*

49 5B.99/D (12)a+(13–14)a

Height c. 28 cm.

Second/third century

Col. i

.
 ενεστωσης] κρ[ι (§ 17)
 σεως και τ]ων ορ
 κων ους ο]μωμο
 κοτες φερε]τε την
 5 ψηφον αν]τικα
 ταλλαξαμ]ενοι
 τας τηλικ]αυτας
 ευεργεσιας α]λλ ε
 κατον ταλα]ντων
 10 τιμησαντες] οτι
 χρηματα αυ]τον
 Αριστοφω]ν εφη
 παρα Χιων] ειλη
 φεναι και] Ροδ[ι]
 15 ων τον δε μ]ισρον > (§ 18)

Col. ii

.
 νειλε π[ασαν την (§ 18)
 γεγεν[ημενην
 αυτω π[ρος υμας
 πιστι]ν και οικ προ
 5 τερον εφη δ[ια
 φερεσθαι π[ρος του
 τους εταξε]ν [αυ
 τον και εξ]ηλεγ
 ξαν την π[ρος
 10 ποιητον αυ]του
 καλοκα{κο}γ[αθι
 αν οτι ψευδ]ης
 ην και ηττ]ων
 χρηματων [α χρη (§ 19)
 15 λογιζομενο]υς
 υμας παντα]ς
 ω ανδρες Αθη

Col. iii lost

Col. v

Col. iv

.
 λα]μ (§ 20)
 β]ανον[τες μη

πρ[ο]γον[ων υμων
 πολιτε]ιας ουχ] υ
 περ Φιλ[οκλε]ους
 μονον ου[τος] μεν
]..[
 5 γαρ αυ]του παλα]ι
 θανατον κατε>
 γνωκεν ταυτα
 υμας ικετε]γει δι

	δε την [εξ αυ]των		καιοτεραν πολυ
	των ερ[γων κ]αι	10	δεησιν δε[[με]]ο >
5	της αλ[ηθειας] α		μενα τουτων >>
	ποδεδ[ειγμεν]ην		των ταυτα πε
	υμιν κατα τ]ων		πρακοτων μη
	κρει[νομεν]ων		ενκατατλει >>
	αδικι[αν ακυ]ρον	15	πειν υπερ ω̄ν
10	ποιησα[ντες] βο		οι προγονοι πολ >
	ηθησατ[ε κοινη		λους υπεμειναν
	τηι πατ[ριδι κ]α[ι		κινδυνους [μη
	τρεις νομ[οις τα]υ		δ εις αδοξίαν [αι
	τα γαρ αμ[φοτ]ε	20	σχραν αγαγε[ιν
15	ρ[α δια]δ[ικαζε		το αξιωμα τ[ης
	[ται νυν προς την]		πολεως μη[[τε]]ν
	του]τ[ου] πονη		τικαταλλαξα >>
	ρια[ν] υ[περ πα	§ 21	ςθαι την [πρ]οσ
	σης ω αν[δρες Α	25	τουτους χαριν >
20	θην[αιιοι της χω		και] των του δη
	ρας νυ[ν] με[λλε		μου ψηφισμα >
	τε φερειν τη[ν		των και των >
	ψηφ[ο]ν και [των		της βουλης απο
	ε[ν] τ[αυ]τη κ[α	30	φασε[ω]ν ακρει
25	τεσκευασμεν[ων		βως γ[αρ] ιςτε ω >
	ιερων και τω[ν		ανδρε[ς Αθην]αι
	αρχαιων ν[ομιμων		οι] ακρ[ειβως οτ]ι
	και της] παρ[αδεδο		υ]μεις [μεν π]α
	μενης υπ]ο τ[ων	35	ρ]α πασιν ανθρω

Col. vi

ποις ε[π]αιν[ε]ισθ[[αι]]
 ταις γεγενημε
 ναις ζητησ[ε]σι ü
 πε[ρ] τουτων [τ]ων
 5 χρηματων οι δε

ἐξελ[η]λεγμένοι
 κατα της εαυτων
 πατριδος δωρα
 - ειληφοτες και
 10 αδικοι και μει
 σοδημοι νομι >
 ζοντ' ειναι φι >
 λειν υμας φα >
 σκοντες και πρατ
 15 τειν υπερ των
 της πολεως α[γ]α
 (m. 2) εξ υμων
 θων και δι υ[μ]α
 ενδοξοι γε[γεν]η
 μνοι
 20 κατα Φιλοκλεουσ

Col. i

The condition of the papyrus does not permit us to check how §§ 17–18 in this witness related to the parallel passage in Dinarchus 1. 14.

5–6 Certainly not ἀντικατηλλάξασθε (1. 14).

Col. ii

9 Superscript correction by the first hand.

9–10 την προσποιητον αυτου: αὐτοῦ τὴν προσποίητον codd. αὐτοῦ del. Baiter and Sauppe.

13–14 ὅτι ψευδῆς ἦν. ἃ χρῆ MSS. The MSS. text of § 18 was grammatically suspect, because it begins with a phrase in the accusative, τὸν δὲ μιὰρὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ προδότην, and attaches to it a string of relative clauses without coming to a main verb. Contrast Dinarchus 1. 15, which concludes a similar passage with τοῦτον οὐ τιμωρησάμενοι παράδειγμα ποιήσετε τοῖς ἄλλοις; The papyrus supplies an expanded ending for the sentence by adding καὶ ἤττ[ων] χρημάτων, but not the expected apodosis. E. G. Sihler, *TAPA* 16 (1885) 126, in his analysis of this passage, had concluded that we should probably retain the text transmitted by the MSS., given the presence of analogous anacolutha in Dinarchus. Or was a corrective variant perhaps offered in the lacuna between col. i 15 and col. ii 1? For the formula supplied by the papyrus, cf. Democ. B 50 D.-K., ὁ χρημάτων παντελῶς ἦσσαν οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἶη δίκαιος.

15 λογισαμένους codd. But contrast e.g. Dinarchus 1. 77, δεῖ ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ὀρώντας καὶ λογιζομένους μὴ... κοινωνεῖν; cf. on the other hand, in a parallel situation, 1. 110: εἰς ταύτην ἀποβλέψαντας... φέρειν δεῖ... τὴν ψήφον.

16 πάντας N and Maetzner; omitted in A.

17 Here and elsewhere (iv 19, v 32) the papyrus employs the more complete formula instead of the ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι of the MSS.

Col. iv

1 ff. After λαμβάνοντες the papyrus cannot have had the αὐτούς of the MSS. The whole passage is considered corrupt by edd., but at 9 too the papyrus seems to be in agreement with the medieval tradition.

- 8 Read κρινομένων.
19 Cf. ii 17 n.

Col. v

- 5 Traces of an interlinear notation above πάλαι.
7 ff. ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἰκετεύων ἐγὼ...δέομαι MSS. The mark in the left margin may be a pointer to a note in the lost upper margin. It is a curved hook open to the upper right, with a dot below. It could well be an *ancora*, indicating an omission, cf. E. G. Turner, *GMAW* p. 18, pls. 12, 34, 41. The anchor shape seems to lack its stock, unless something has been rubbed away. However, we may compare the stockless anchor in the British Museum Bacchylides, see *Facsimile of Papyrus DCCXXXIII*, col. 22; cf. 38, which is less clear. In col. 22 the shape is very similar to ours, except that it is open to the upper left instead of the upper right. The dot there is a high stop belonging to col. 21.
For ταῦτα as subject of ἰκετεύει, cf. iv 10 16...βοηθήσατε κοινῇ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω διαδικάζεται, and the more elaborate Dinarchus I. 109.
12 ταυτα pap. with the MSS., against τοιαῦτα conjectured by Blass.
12-13 Read πεπραχότων.
14 The scribe has placed a deletion mark over the second τ but not over the second ε, leaving us uncertain as to the tense intended. Correct, nevertheless, το ἐγκαταλιπεῖν (cf. the aorist at 22-24).
21-22 τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα MSS.
22-30 μηδὲ καταλλάξασθαι τὴν πρὸς τούτους χάριν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισμάτων MSS. <ἀντι>καταλλάξασθαι (Hirschig) and <ψηφισμάτων> conjecturally supplied by Maetzner after δήμου, are now confirmed by the papyrus. In 26 proleptic [καί] seems the supplement best adapted to the lacuna, and it is tempting to explain the inclusion in the medieval MSS. (but not in the papyrus) of τῶν νόμων before the καί as derived from a gloss on τῶν τοῦ δήμου ψηφισμάτων (cf. vi 9 with note); on the other hand, the two expressions recur elsewhere in Dinarchus, cf. I. 41, 96, 101 and esp. 84 πείεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ψηφίσμασι.
30-31 Read ἀκριβῶς. The spelling with epsilon is likely to have been repeated in 33.
32 Cf. ii 17 n.

Col. vi

- 1 The correction recurs in the MSS.: ἐπαινεῖσθαι N^{pr}, A^{pr}, corrected to ἐπαινεῖσθε N¹, A¹.
3 Read ζητήσεσιν.
9-11 εἰληφότες πονηροὶ καὶ ἄδικοι καὶ μισόδημοι MSS. Again (cf. v 26) in a sequence the papyrus omits the easiest term attested by the MSS. (πνηροί), perhaps derived from a gloss whose insertion into the text was facilitated by a proleptic καί.
10-11 Read μισόδημοι.
12 For the unusual elision of -αι see Kühner-Blass I 237-9.
16-19 In the left margin opposite these lines stand the top and central parts of a coronis.
17 It is not clear whether ἐξ ὑμῶν (which is in a different hand and in which hypsilon is corrected from eta) represents an interlinear variant or simply a gloss on δι' ὑμᾶς. Cf. Dinarchus I. 109, τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγεννημένους ὑμᾶς ἰκετεύει. Even if linguistic usage of the second century A.D. be taken into account, the *lectio facillior* can hardly be determined.
20 As far as can be seen the papyrus did not give the author's name above the title of the work.

3438. HOMER, *Iliad* i 499-523

58/B (83)a

10.2 x 20 cm.

Second/third century

The papyrus contains the lower part of a column (bottom margin 3.3 cm.). There is a heavy kollesis close to the right edge. The back is blank. The scribe wrote a fairly large, heavy, sloping 'Severe Style', somewhat like I 23, XXVIII 2486 and 2487. He

added diaeresis (514), and apostrophe to mark elision (missing only in 501); he omitted iota adscript (519, 521). A second hand has made a correction in 519.

Collated with T. W. Allen's *editio maior* (Oxford, 1931). There are no significant variants.

.

πο]λ[υδειραδος
] καθεζ[ετο
]υπ ανθε[ρεωνος

503 λισσο]μενη [προσει]πε Δια Κ[ρονωνα
πα]τερ ει [ποτε δ]η σε μετ' α[θανατοιειν
] η εργω [τοδε] μοι κρη[ηνον
τιμησ]ον μοι [υιον ο]ς ωκυμο[ρωτατος
] αταρ μ[ι]ν νυν γε ανα[ξ
η]τιμησεν ελων γαρ εχει γερας [
508 αλλ]α συ περ μιν τισον Ολυμπ[ιε
το]φρα δ' επι Τρωεσσι τιθει κρ[ατος
υιο]ν εμον τισωσιν οφελλωσι[ν
] φασο την δ' ου τι προσεφη [
α]λλ' ακεων δην ηστο Θετις δ' ω[σ
513 ψς εχετ' εμπεφυ[ι]α και ειρετο δευ[τερον
νη]μερτες μεν δη μοι υποςχεο [
απ]οειπ' επει ου τοι επι δεος [ο]φ[ρ ευ
οσσο]ν εγω μετα πασιν ατιμοτατ[η
] δε μεγ' οχθησας προσεφη ν[εφεληγερετα
518] λοιγια εργα ο τε μ' εχθροδοπησ[αι
ο]τ α' μ' ερεθησιν ονειδειρις επ[εεσιν
δ]ε και αυτως μ' αιει εν θανατοι[σι
νε]ικει και τε με φησι μαχη Τρω[εσιν
αλλ]α συ μεν νυν αυθις αποστιχε μ[η
523 Ηρ]η εμοι δε κε ταυτα μελησεται ο[φρα

513 εμπεφυ[ι]α: space in the lacuna for one small letter only. Read *εμπεφυυία*, with the MSS.

519 α': cursive ν added by a second hand.

522 αυθις a frequent variant for αυτις; Allen's apparatus lists cod. Ambrosianus 1019 and twenty further MSS.

3439. HOMER, *Iliad* v 1-23

37 3 B.87/L (1)a

Fr. 1 5 × 17 cm.

Second century

Fr. 2 2.5 × 6.5 cm.

The item consists of two fragments, the larger of which is joined together from four smaller scraps. Together the two fragments give parts of the first twenty-three lines of *Iliad* v. On the back of the larger fragment there are remains of unidentified prose (3434). A blank space above the first line seems to guarantee that the book began at the top of a column, but the upper margin is too narrow to give certainty that there was no title at that point, cf. E. G. Turner, *GMAW*, pl. 49, with pp. 16-17.

The hand is a formal round script of the type of the Hawara Homer, see E. G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 25, 38, studied especially by G. Cavallo, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, ser. ii, vol. xxxvi (1967), 209-20, with 12 plates. There are no lectional signs surviving. Iota adscript is omitted in 6, at the only place in the preserved text where it might have appeared.

Collated with T. W. Allen's *editio maior* (Oxford, 1931) and with the edition of A. Ludwich (1902). The text has three variant readings, none of them important. In line 10 it has *υιες*, as cod. Vindob. 49, Ludwich's W, has *υίες*, for *υίέες*. In 15 it clearly has *φυγευς*, though in 11 the traces of the feet of letters strongly favour the correct *Φ]ηγξυ[ς*, and *προι* for *προϊει*. Both of these are against all other witnesses and can be classified as mere iotacisms, resulting, in the second case, in the loss of a syllable.

Fr. 1

Διομηδ]ει Παλλ[α
] υν εκδ]ηλος
] κλεος εκθ]λον
κ]αι ασπιδ[ο

5

εν]αλιγκιο[ν
παμφαιν]ησι λελου[μενος
α]πο κρατος τ[ε
μ]εσσον οθι [

Fr. 2

Τρωες]σι Δαρης αφ[νειος

10

. δυ]ω δε οι υιες<ε>ς η[στην
Φ]ηγξυ[ς Ιδαιος τε μα]χης ευ ειδο[τε
τ]ω οι α[ποκρινθεντε] εναντι[ω
τω με[ν αφ ιπποιν ο] δ απο χθ[ονος
ο]ι δ οτε [δη χεδον ης]αν επ αλ[ληλοισι

15

Φυγευς [ρα προτερος π]ροι <ει> δολιχο[σκιον

Τυ]δειδε[ω δ υπερ ωμ]ον αρις[τ]ερ[ον
 εγ]χεος ο[υδ εβαλ αυτον] ο δ ψ[ε]τερ[ος
 Τυ]δειδ[ης του δ ουχ αλιον βελ]ος [αλλ]
 εβα[λε στηθος μεταμαζ]ιον [20
 Ιδα]ιος [δ απορουσε λιπων πε]ρι[καλλεα
 ουδ] ετ[λη περιβηναι αδελφει]ου κ[ταμενοιο
 υπ]εκ[φυγε
] νυ[κτι

15 l. Φηγεύς

3440. HOMER, *Iliad* xvi 612–54

45 5B. 56/E (1–3)a

6.7 × 27.5 cm.

Second/third century

Part of one column of a roll, preserving parts of upper and lower margins. The hand is a 'Mixed' (or 'Severe') style of the late second or early third century, somewhat less careful than I 26, illustrated in C. H. Roberts, *GLH*, 19a. There are no accents, breathings, or punctuation except diaeresis (623, 653), and only one correction (651). Iota adscript is written. The back is blank.

The original width of the column must have been c. 12 cm. The 867 verses of book xvi would have taken up twenty-one or twenty-two such columns of c. 41 lines each or, counting a margin of 1 cm. between the columns, approximately 2.75 metres.

The text of the fragment holds no surprises. According to T. W. Allen, whose *editio maior* has been used for comparison, the omission of 614–15 is a feature of the vulgate text and is therefore to be expected in a papyrus of this period, see also P. Flor. II 110. It is not surprising either that the papyrus goes against Aristarchus and keeps 613 and τ' in 636. In 640 εἶρυτο for εἴλυτο is shared only with Allen's D and must be wrong. Its sense is inappropriate here and the substitution can easily be explained by the common confusion of liquids, see Mayser-Schmoll I, 1, pp. 161–2. In 642 βρεμέωσι is a conflation of βρέμω and βρομέω and must be classified as an unimportant mistake, cf. Mayser-Schmoll I, 1, p. 72. In 647 φόνου for φόνω is a mere error, perhaps due to the proximity of Πατρόκλου. All other manuscripts have φόνω. In 651 φόνον for πόνον was a simple mistake, corrected probably in a second hand. There are also four iotacisms (641, 644, 645, and 648).

613 πελ]εμιχ[θη
 616 οβρι]μος Α[ρης
 φωνη]σεν τ[ε
] περ [

-] εις ε[βαλον
 αν]τιον η[υδα
 620 πε]ρ εον[τα
] κς ζε[υ
 ν]υ [κ]αι κυ [
] οξεῑ χα[λκωι
 εω]ν και χειρσι πε[ποιθως
 625 Αῑ]δι κ[λ]υτοπω[λωι
 Με]γοιτιου αλκ[ιμος
] εων αγορ[ευεις
 ονειδειοι]ς επεεσσιν [
 γ]αια καθεξ[ει
 630 τε]λος [π]ο[λεμου επεω]ν δ̄ ενι βου[ληι
 μ]υθον οφελλ[ειν α]λλα μαχεσ[θαι
 μ]εν ηρχ̄ ο δ̄ [αμ̄ ες]πετο ισοθε[ος
] δρυτομων ανδρων ορυμ[αγδος
 βησση]ς εκαθεν [δε] τε γιγν̄ετ̄ α[κουη
 635 δ]ουπος απο χθονος ευρυο[δειης
 ρι]νου τε βοων τ̄ ευποιηταων
] ξιφεσιν τε και εγχεσιν αμ[φιγυοισιν
 φρ]αδμων περ̄ ανηρ̄ Σαρπηδο[να
 βε]λεεσσι και αιμ[ατ]ι και κοιη[ισιν
 640] ειρυτο διαμπερες ες ποδα[ς
] νεκρον ομειλεον ως οτε μ[υ]ιαι
] βρεμεωσι [π]εριγλαγας κ[ατα
 ειαρ]ινηι οτε τε γλαγος αγγεα δ̄[ευει
 πε]ρι νεκρον ομειλεο[ν] ουδ̄[ε
 645 κ]ρατερης υσμεινης [ος]ςε φ[αεινω
 αυ]τους αιεν ορα και φραζετ̄[ο
] αμφι φογου Πατροκλου [
 κειν]ον ενι κρ[α]τερηι υσμειν[ηι
 αντιθε]ωι Σαρπη[δο]νι φαιδιμ[ος
 650 α]πο τ̄ ω[μ]ων τευχε̄ ελητ[αι
 πλεονεσσ]ιν οφελλειεν [[φ]]`π̄'ονον αι[πυν

φρονεο]ντι δο[acc]ατο κερδιο[ν
 θεραπω]ν Πηληϊα[δε]ω Αχιλλ[ηος
 τε και Εκτορα χαλ[κοκορυστην

640 l. εϊλυτο 641 l. ὀμίλειον 642 l. βρομέωσι 644 l. ὀμίλειον 645 l. ὑσμίνης 648 l. ὑσμίνη

3441. HOMER, *Odyssey* x 1-24

37 4B. 103/B (1)c

12.9 × 16.3 cm.

Second century

The upper part of a column, with a preserved top margin of 3 cm. The back is blank. The text was copied in an informal round book-hand, to be compared with X 1231 (Turner, *GMAW*, pl. 17); the cursive influence shows in the forms of alpha (always) and epsilon (sometimes) and in the ligaturing of *αι* and *ει*. The lectional signs comprise elision-mark, *hypodiatole* (18), and high stop; diaeresis; rough breathing (in the form ^h); and relatively copious accentuation. The accents, as usual, are concentrated in places where the reader may find difficulty in interpreting the *scriptio continua*: proper names (2), rare words (4, 9, 10, 19), dialect forms (6, 17); enclitics (3, 7, 9, 10, 12, 18); ambiguous sequences of letters (1, 20 *ένθα* not *ενθάδ(ε)*, 8 *μητέρι* not *μήτε*, 13 *δώματα* not *δώμα*, 14 *φίλει* not *φιλεί*). The signs, and the several corrections, are or may be the work of the original scribe.

Collated with the editions of Allen (1919) and Von der Mühl (1962); additional information from the apparatus of Ludwig (1891). The same passage occurs in p³¹ (P. Sorb. inv. 2245 A; S. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, 223), an early Ptolemaic papyrus with many eccentric readings; and part of it in p⁷² (XV 1819), roughly contemporary with 3441. Textually, 3441 offers no novelties; but provides early evidence for two rare readings (10, 19) that are otherwise found only in late medieval MSS.; one of these, *αὐδή* or *αὐδήι* for the vulgate *αὐλή* or *αὐλήι* (10), has special interest, since the line is a well-known crux.

The papyrus surface is badly rubbed in many places, so that dotted letters should be regarded as more than usually uncertain.

Αἰολιην δ' ες νησον αφικόμεθ'. ένθα δ' έναιεν
 Αἰο[λ]ο[ς] Ιππ]οτάδης φιλος αθανατοιει θεοιει
 πλωτηι [ε]νι νησωι· πασαν δέ τε μιν περι τειχος
 χαλ[κ]εο[ν] αρρ[η]κτον· λι[cc]η[.] δ['] αναδεδρομε πετρη[
 5 του και [δ]ω[δ]εκα πα[ι]δες ενι μ·μεγαροις γεγαασιν
 εξ μεν θυγατερες εξ δ' υἱε[ε]ς ηβώοντες
 ενθ' ό γε θυγατερας πόρον [[ανδρ]]άσιw είναι ακόι[τις
 ρι δ' αιει παρα πατρι φιλωι και μητέρι κεδ[ν]ηι

δαιυννται· παρα δέ φιν ονείατα μυρία κειτα[ι
 10 κνισῆεν δέ τε δωμα περιστεναχιζεται αυδη[]
 ηματ[α]· νυκτας δ αυτε παρ αιδότηης αλοχοισιν
 ἔυδους' έν τε ταπησι και εν τρητο[ι]σι λε[χεσσι
 και μεν των ἴκομεσθα πολιν και δώμ[ατα καλα
 15 μήνα δε παντα φίλει με και εξερεξ[ι]γεν [εκαστα
 Ἴλιον· Αργειων τε νεας [κ]αι ν[ο]ς τ[ο]ν Αχαι[ων
 και] μεν εγω τῶι παντα κατα μ[οι]ραν κα[τε]λεξα
 αλλ ο[τ]ε δ[η] και εγων ὄδο[ν] ἤ'τεον ηδ εκε[λευον
 πεμπεμεν, ουδέ τι κεινος ανηγατο· τευ[χε] δε πομπην
 δωκε μοι εκδείρας ακ[ο]ν βοος [εν]νεόρο[ιο
 20 ἐνθα δε βυκταων [α]ν[εμ]ων [κα]τ[α] δ[η]σε [κε]λευθα
 κειν]ον γαρ ταμην [ανεμ]ων ποιησε Κρο[νιων
 ημεν παυε]μεναι ηδ['] ορνυμεν ὄν κ' εθέλ[η]σι
] . . . μέρμιθι φ[α]εινη[ι
 αργυρεη ινα μη τι παραπνευσει ολ[ί]γ[ο]ν[περ

MSS. are designated by Allen's symbols. I have not normally mentioned readings which are unique to the eccentric p³¹.

3 πλωτηι [ε]νι: or perhaps πλωτη ενι.

4 λι[cc]η[.]: the deleted letter was probably alpha (by anticipation from ανα-) rather than iota (with an original reading λισση . . . πετρη[ι], as in Pal. 45, according to Ludwig).

αυδεδρομει: the trace excludes -δραμε (some MSS.).

δ[]: an elision-mark may be lost in the abraded patch.

5 μ'μεγαρρις: the doubling of mu, to show that it lengthens the preceding short vowel, is familiar (S. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, 113); it was the practice of Aristophanes of Byzantium. Here there seems to be a high point separating one mu from the next; if not accidental, an early example of *diastole* between paired consonants (Turner, *GMAW*, 13)?

γεγαρρις: the traces exclude the variants -αι, -σαι, -σαι.

6 νῆεις corrected to νῆεις: νῆεις most MSS. (νῆεις G H): νῆεις T, H³ p.c., and also p³¹. The later contracted form entered the text in or before the third century B.C., since it appears in p³¹ (and as a variant in Schol. AT *Iliad* xxiv 604).

ηβώντες corrected to ηβώντες, as most MSS.: ἠβώντες some MSS.

7 ανδράειν corrected to νῆαις, as all MSS.

9 κειτα[ι]: the traces exclude κείνται (W).

10 κνισῆεν: so most MSS.: κνισῆεν some MSS.

αυδη or αυδη[ι]: αυδή γρ. Br V⁴: αυλή i k o L⁷ P⁶ P⁷ R¹¹, αυλή cett.: αλμηι p³¹ (see West, *Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, 248). 3441 shows that αυδή, if a conjecture (West l.c.), is an ancient one.

11 δ αυτε: alpha has an unusual dot attached to its bow, which may be a displaced elision mark. There is no elision mark after παρ.

αιδότηης: not -οις (L⁸) or -αις (W).

12 ταπησι, as most MSS.: -ησι a few MSS., and p³¹.

]σι λε[χεσσι, as most MSS.: not -ε λεχέεσσι, as p etc (from *Od.* i 440).

15 $\nu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$, as most MSS.: not $\nu\eta\alpha\varsigma$ (K H³), $\mu\acute{o}\rho\omicron\nu$ (L⁴), $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu$ (Pal).

16 $\kappa\alpha\iota$] $\mu\epsilon\nu$, as most MSS.: $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho$ P⁷, $\gamma\rho$. L⁸, and p³¹.

17 $\epsilon\gamma\omega\nu$, as most MSS.: $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$ L⁸, Eustath.

19 $\delta\acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon$ $\mu\omicron\iota$, as H¹: $\delta\acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\mu\omicron\iota$ all other MSS.: (18) $\delta\acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\rho\omicron\mu\pi\eta\nu$ | $\rho\omicron\phi\phi\rho\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ p³¹. Dr West (l.c. 250) suggests that the version of p³¹ aims partly to avoid the awkward elision of $\mu\omicron\iota$. The reading which 3441 now shows to be ancient may have the same object; it was in fact adopted (from a MS., or by conjecture) in the editions of Wolf (1807) and Bekker (1843, 1858).

22 $\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda$ [: second epsilon apparently written as eta, which was then corrected by writing the lambda close enough to touch the right-hand upright.

23]...: not immediately reconcilable with the end of $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota$ (MSS.).

3442. HOMER, *Odyssey* xi 330–66, 373–403

17 2 B. 55/H(d)

18.5 × 20.5 cm.

Second century

The upper part of two columns, from a roll containing *Odyssey* xi, which was apparently one of the most popular books of the poem in Graeco-Roman Egypt (cf. J. A. Davison, *Akten VIII Int. Kongr. Pap. (Wien)*, 51–8). 1.5 cm. of the top margin survive, and the margin between the columns averages 3.0 cm. Col. i originally contained 42 lines. (The whole book in this format would occupy about 15 columns, or 2.25 m. of papyrus.) The back is blank. The hand is an upright rounded decorated capital, of medium size; it has similarities with the Berlin *Ninus-Romance* (Roberts, *GLH*, 11 a), which looks earlier, with the second hand of V 841 (ib. 14: Pindar, *Paeans*) and with III 454 (Turner, *GMAW*, 62: Plato), and probably belongs to the earlier second century. Lectional signs, some if not all the work of a second hand, include accents, breathings, elision-marks, and marks of quantity (375, 392?, 393); punctuation by middle stop and by high stop (which at line-ends takes the form of an oblique dash). Corrections have been made in several places, some at least by a second hand (391, 393). Iota adscript is not always written. Itacistic spellings 340, 393.

Collated with the editions of Allen (1919) and Von der Mühl (1962). The papyrus has unique readings in 386 (simple error?) and 388 (obscured by damage), and a unique transposition of 390 with 391 (quite untenable). In 374 and 390 it sides with the bulk of the MSS. against **a d l** L⁴. In 399 it attests a variant which otherwise appears only in one fifteenth-century MS. Most interestingly, it omits 343 (so **b c e**). This seems to lend support to the implicit conclusion of G. M. Bolling, *External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer*, 26, that the line was not read by Aristarchus. For the relationship of the vulgate to the text of Aristarchus see S. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, 15–17; for a summary of line-omissions in other Homeric papyri see, in addition to Bolling, B. P. MacCarthy, *CPh* 27 (1932), 151–5, and S. T. Vandersall, *CPh* 37 (1942), 299–306.¹

¹ I am indebted to Dr M. Athorp for discussion of the variants of this text.

Col. i

330] και ὠρη
 εταιρο]υς
 μελης]ει·
 ci]ωπηι
 κκιο]εγτα·
 335 μυθ]ων·
 ε]ιγα[ι]
 ε]νδον εἶσα·
] ἔμμορε τιμης·
] μηδε τα δωρα
 340] υμειν
 ιοτητ]ι κέοντ[α]ι·
 ε]χένηος·
] . . . απο δ[ο]ξης
 345] αλλα πιθ[εσθε]
 επο]ς τξ
 φωνησε]ν τξ·
] εγω γε
 αν]ασσω
 350 χατ]ίζων
 εις] ο κε πασαν
] μελής[ει]
 ε]νι δημ[ωι]
 πολυμη]τις οδυ[σσευς]
 355 λαω]ν·
 μι]μνειν[]
 διδο]ίτε
 κερδιο]ν εἰη
 ι]κέσθαι[]
 360]έιην
 νοστης]αντα·
 φωνης]έν τε
 εισορω]ντες
 πολ]λους
 365 ανθρωπ]ους
 ιδ]όιτο·

Col. ii

νύξ δ' [ηδε μαλα] μ[α]κρή· ἀθέσφατο[ς ουδε πω ωρη
 ἔϋδειν εν μεγαρωι συ δε μοι λέ[γ]ε θες[κελα εργα
 375 και κεν εκ ηω δῖαν αναρχόμηνη· ὄτε μ[οι συ
 τλαιηις εν μεγαρω τα σα κηδεα μυθη[σασθαι
 τον δ' απαμειβομενος προσεφη πολύμη[τις οδυσευς
 αλκίνοε κρείον παντων αριδιεικε[τε λαων
 ὦρη μεν πολέων μυθων ὦρη δε [και υπνου
 380 ει δ' ετ' ακουμένεγαί γ[ε] λιλαίεαι [ο]ύκ[αν εγω γε
 τ[ο]υ[τ]ων σοι φ[θ]ο[υ]ιμι και οικτρο[τερ αλλ αγορευειν
 κ[η]δε] ε[μ]ων εταρων [οι δη] μετοπισθεν ὀλ[οντο
 οι τρωω]ν μεν υπεξ[εφυγ]ον στονόεσσ[αν αυτην
 ε]ν νό[στω]ι δ' ἀπόλο[το] κακ[η]ς ἰότητι γυ[ναικος
 385 αυταρ [ε]πει ψυχας μ[εν απ]εσκέδαε ἀλλ[υδιδ αλληι
 δ' . . . φ[ε]ρ[ε]φογε[ια γυναι]κω[ν θ]ηλυ[τεραων
 ηλθε δ' επι ψ[υχη] α[γαμεμνο]νος ατρεί[δαο
 αχθυμένη π[ε]ρι δ' αλλαι α]γηγέραθ'[
 οικω εν αιγίς[θοι]ο [θαν]ον και ποτμον επεσ[πον
 391 κλαιε δ' ὄ^{γε} λιγέ[ωσ θαλ]ερ[ον] κατα δακρυ[[^οα]]ν ἔιβων
 390 εγνω δ' αἴψ' εμε [κει]νο[ς] ε]πει πίνεν ἄιμα κελαινον
 πιτνας εις εμε χειρας ορέξασθαι με[νε]άινων
 αλλ' ου γαρ [[^{οι}η]] ετ' ην εἰς εμπεδος· ουδέ τ[ικικ]ύς·
 ὄϊη περ παρός εκκεν ε[νι] γναπτοῖσι μ[ε]λλ[ε]σσι·
 395 τον μεν εγω δάκρυσα ιδ[ω]ν· ἐλέησα [τε θ]υμωι[]
 καί μιν φωνησα[ς] επεα πτερ]όφεντα π[ροσ]ήυδων
 ατρείδη κυδις[τ]ε αν[αξ ανδρω]ν αγαμ[εμνο]ν
 τίς νύ σε κηρ εδάμ[ασσε] τανη]λεγέο[ς] θανατοιο
 ηέ σε γ εν νήεσσι [ποσει]δάω[ν ενος]ιχθω[ν
 400 ὄρσας αργαλέων αν[εμων
 ηέ σ' ανάρσιοι ανδ[ρες
 βους [περι]ταμν[ομενον
 ηε περι]πτο]λι[ος

- 340 l. ὑμῖν.
 343 om. pap.: so **b c e**. (The line = *Od.* vii 156. 343a = vii 157 appears in only a few MSS.)
 353 φημ[ωι: so most MSS.: οἴκω **b i L⁴ U⁶** (cf. 190).
 364 πολλ[λου: so most MSS.: πολλά Zenod., **d** (cf. ix 128).
 374 μεγαρρι: so most MSS.: -οι **a d i L⁴**.
 375 εϵ ηω δῖαν: so most MSS.: προφρονέωϵ **r**.
 376 l. τλαίης, μεγάρωι. Rho of μεγαρω corrected from alpha.
 386 δ. . . : ἀγνή most MSS.: αἰνή **L⁴** etc. The initial letter is clearly delta, not alpha; presumably a simple mistake. The rest of the traces could be read γνη (the spacing is not so suitable for γη).
 φ[ερ]εσφονε[ια: so **a b d i l**: Περρε- cett.
 388 α]γγέραθ': the short thick horizontal, which I have taken to be part of an elision mark, might be something else; further right, a point at half-height might be a middle stop, or part of a letter. Then apparently the lower arc of a circle (ε, θ, ο, ϵ); then a damaged patch, with what might be the end of the cross-bar, and of the lower curve, of epsilon; then perhaps sigma (epsilon less likely); then perhaps epsilon (unless sigma with something suprascript); then the alpha. The MSS. have ὄσαι or ὄσαι ἄμ' ἀντῶ (ἄριστοι **L⁴**).
 389 l. οἴκωι.
 390 [κει]ρη[ϵ: unexplained ink above omicron (foot of acute accent?).
 πίεν κτλ: so most MSS.: ἴδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν **a d i L⁴**. D. L. Page, *Homeric Odyssey*, 43, believes that the reading of **a d i L⁴** is more likely to have been the original one.
 391 misplaced before 390. The first correction is by a second hand.
 δακρυ[[α]ν: the scribe may have thought of the tag δάκρυα λείβων. But there is no clear sign that his nu is corrected from lambda.
 392 πινας: perhaps a long-mark over the alpha.
 393 l. ἴϵ. The correction is by a second hand. The final stop is doubtful.
 399-403 damn. Aristophanes.
 399 ενος]ιχθω[ν: so only **R⁹**: ἐδάμασσαν cett.
 400 αργαλέων: so MSS.: λευγαλέων Aristophanes.

3443. HOMER, *Odyssey* xvii 409-37, 460-77

17 2B. 55/B(a)

21.5 × 17.5 cm.

Third century

Part of two columns from a roll containing *Odyssey* xvii. There is about 3 cm. of the bottom margin intact, and the intercolumnar margin averages 1 cm. The columns originally contained 39-40 lines (so that, if the roll contained only this book, we have columns xi and xii from a sequence of sixteen, which would have occupied about 2 metres of papyrus). The back is blank. The hand is of the common angular type ('Severe Style') of the third century, comparable with **XX 2263** and **XXXVI 2745**, but not so neatly made as those examples. Occasional marks of diaeresis and elision have been written by the original scribe, who also corrected his own text at line 471. There is no other punctuation. Iota adscript does not appear to have been written.

Collated with the editions of Allen (1919) and Von der Mühl (1962); additional information from the apparatus of Ludwich (1891). Lines 410-28 occur also in **IV 783** (late first century B.C.) = p¹⁷.

Col. i

.

410] . [.] . . [] α ζ ω []
] α ρ α π η ρ η γ]
] ε γ ο δ υ σ σ ε υ ς]
] θ α ι α χ α ι ω ν]
] υ θ ο ν ε ε ι π ε υ]
 415] ο κ [α κ ι] ς τ ο ς α χ α ι ω ν]
] . [.] ξ ο ι κ α ς]
] π ε ρ α λ λ ο ι]
] ε ι ρ ο γ α γ α ι α ν]
] ι ν ε ν α ι ο ν]
 420] ο ν α λ η τ η]
] ν ο ς ε [λ] θ ο ι]
] λ α τ ε π ο λ λ α]
] ε ο ν τ α ι]
] η θ ε λ ε γ [α] ρ π [ο] υ]
 425] τ ρ ι [σ ι ν α] ν η κ ε ν]
] δ [ο] ν ο φ ρ α [] . []
] δ ' ε γ αι γ υ π τ [ω] π ο τ α μ ω ν ε α ς α μ φ [ι] ε λ ι σ σ α ς]
] ε ν θ ' η τ ρ ι μ ε ν ε γ ω κ ε λ ο μ η ν ε ρ ι η ρ α ς ε τ α ι ρ ο υ ς]
] ν η ς σ ι μ ε ν ε ι ν κ α ι ν η α ς ε ρ υ σ θ α ι]
 430] ε κ α τ α σ κ ο π ι α ς ω τ ρ υ ν α ν ε ς ε θ α ι]
] ξ α ν τ ε ς ε π ι σ π ο μ ε ν ο ι μ ε ν ε ἴ σ φ ω]
] ι γ υ π τ ι ω ν α ν δ ρ ω ν π ε ρ ι κ α λ λ ε α ς α γ ρ ο υ ς]
] κ δ ε γ υ ν α ι κ α ς α γ ο ν κ α ι ν η π ι α τ ε κ ν α]
] κ τ ε ι ν ο ν τ α χ α δ ' ε ς π ο λ ι ν ἴ κ ε τ ' α ὔ τ η]
 435] τ [ε ς] α μ ' η [ο ι φ] α ι ν [ο] μ ε [ν η] φ ι]
] τ ο δ ε π α ν π ε δ ι ο ν [π ε] ζ [ω ν τ ε] κ α ι ι π π ω ν]
] ε ς [τ ε] ρ ο π η ς ε ν [δ ε ζ ε] ν ς τ ε ρ π ι κ ε ρ α υ ν ο ς]

Col. ii

.

460 .[
 αψ ανα[
 ως αρ εφ[
 πρυμνοτατον κ[
 εμπεδον ουδ αρα μ[

465 αλλ ακεων κεινησε κα[
 [].[
 θηκεν ευπλειην μετα[
 κεκλυτε μευ μνησττηρ[
 οφρ' ειπω τα με θυμος εν[

470 ου μαν ουτ' αχος εστι μετα φρεσι[
 οπποτ' ανηρ ^{περι}[[μετα]] οισι μαχειομ[
 βληεται η περι βουσι η[
 αυταρ εμ αν[τ]ινοος βα[λε γαστε]ρ[
 ουλομενης η πολλα κακ ανθρω[

475 αλλ ει που πτωχων [γ]ε θεοι κα[
 αντιοον προ γαμοιο τελ[
 τον δ αυτ' αντινοος προς[

MSS. are designated by Allen's symbols. 'Vulg.' = 'all MSS. except those specifically noted'.

417 αλλοι: vulg.: αλλωι p¹⁷, άλλων Pal, οι άλλοι L⁸.

420 αλητη: vulg.: ἀλήτην Pal.

421 ε[λ]θοι: vulg.: ἔλθη Mon. post corr.

422 τξ vulg.: om. W.

425 -]τρι[cin a]νηκεν: vulg.: -τησιν Mon: ἀνοίκεν Pal.

426 οφρ α[-: vulg.: ἀργαλέην τε L⁵ U⁶.

427 beginning *στήσα* (vulg.) fits the space: *στήσας δ' g i p*, *στήσαν δ' U⁷*, probably too long.

429 νηα (sigma has been overwritten or corrected, but not apparently cancelled): codd. plerique: νῆα **a b f j k l**.

ερυσθαι: vulg.: εἴρυσθαι U⁵.

430 ωτρυνα: codd. plerique: ὄτρυνα codd. plurimi.

431 εφω: vulg.: εφών **d f r**.

432 om. **a d l**.

433 αγον: vulg.: ἄγων Pal. Mon.

435 φ]αν[ο]μξ[νη]φι: vulg.: -φιν edd. (Barnes, 1711; Wolf, 1807).

436 ιππων: vulg.: ἵππον Pal.

437 εν: vulg.: ἐπὶ L⁸.

464 εμπεδον: vulg.: -ος Pal.

465 l. κίνησε.

470 μετα: vulg.: ἐνὶ **e M²**.

471 [[μετα]]: dittography from 470 rather than a substantive variant.

μαχειομ[: vulg.: μαχομ- L⁸.

472 βληεται: vulg.: βλήται d, βλήεται o, βλέεται U².

475-80 athetized (by Aristarchus).

477 αυτ': vulg.: αυ H³ ante corr., L¹ W.

3444. ISOCRATES, *Evagoras* 6-12

31 4B. 13/H (1-3)a

Fr. 1 5.6 × 16 cm.

Second/third century

Fr. 2 6 × 21.2 cm.

Parts of two consecutive columns, the second preserved for its full height, on two fragments which do not physically join (a column per fragment). The second column has 34 lines, with around 25 letters per line. The column height is 16.3 cm., with an upper margin of 3.2 cm. and a lower one of 1.7 cm. The complete speech may have occupied some 26 columns. The hand is a medium-sized and quickly made slightly sloping capital, with some ligatures. There are frequent serifs but they are virtually confined to the left arm of τ. It may be compared with XXI 2291 but that text is coarser and less regular and lacks the serifs. 3444 has high stops as punctuation which may be additions by the original hand. There is one instance of a rough breathing (29). A second hand has made deletions (37). Elision is unmarked; there is one example of *scriptio plena* (44). Iota adscript occurs in 52 (καταλίπη) and is omitted in 60 (ῶδαϊς). Assessment of line-breaks is conjectural, especially so in the upper part of col. i; the resulting uncertainty aggravates the difficulties of establishing the text offered by the papyrus. The only line-ends which certainly survive are 33 and 34, but the reconstruction supposes nothing to be lost at the ends of 25, 29 and 41. The back is blank.

The text is collated with the Budé edition (1956). The apparatus of Drerup's edition of 1906 has also been utilised. From the textual point of view there are no variants of great importance. In general, the papyrus alternately agrees with ΓΔΕ and with ΘΑ (the two branches of the MS. tradition) and offers trivial variants (or errors) of its own, as expected: cf. H. Erbse in *Gesch. d. Textüberlieferung* I (1961), 265. The extent of the errors, which include a false correction in 37, inspires no confidence in its text. It may be worth noting the insertion of final ν in common with the first hand of Γ: cf. Drerup, op. cit. pp. lxvi-lxvii; F. Seck, *Untersuchungen zum Isokratetext* (diss. Hamburg, 1965), p. 9.

Fr. 1

Col. i

.
 c. 7 letters υ]φ ω[ν ευ πεπονθοτες
 α]υτοι τυγχαν[ουσιν ου μην δου
 λευτεον το]υ[ς νουν εχοντας

§7

[τοις ουτω κακως φρονουσιν]
 5 αλλα των] μ[εν τοιουτων αμελη
 τεον του]ς δ [αλλους εθιστεον
 ακουειν περ]ι ω[ν και λεγειν δι
 καιον εστι]ν α[λλως τ επειδη και
 τας επιδο]ζει[ς ιςμεν γιγνομε
 10 νας και των] τ[εχνων και των αλ
 [λων απαντων ου δια τους εμμενον]
 τας τοις καθεστωσι]ν αλλα [δια
 τους επανορ]θ[ουντας] και τολ[μων
 τας αι τ]ι κε[ινειν] των μη [καλως
 15 εχοντων]: οιδ[α με]ν ουν οτ[ι χαλε
 πον εστιν ο] μελ[λω π]ορειν· αγ[δρος
 αρετην] δια [λογω]ν εγκω[μια
 ζειν σημειον δε] με[γ]ιςτον· πε[ρι
 20 μεν γαρ] αλλων πολλων και παντ[οδα
 πων λεγειν] τολμωσιν οι περι [την]
 φιλοσοφιαν] οντες· περι δε των [τοι
 ουτων ουδ]εις αυτων πρωτοτ[ε συγ
 γραφειν] επιχειρησεν· και π[ολ
 25 λην αυτοις εχ]ω συγγνωμην· τοι[ς
 μεν γαρ ποιη]ταις πολλοι δεδογ
 ται κοσμοι και γαρ π[λησιαζοντα]ς
 τοις θεοις τους] ανθρωπους οιον τ α[ν
 τοις ποιησαι και δια]λεγομενου[ς
 και συναγωνιζομενο]υς οίς αν βου

§ 8

§ 9

Fr. 2

Col. ii

30 ληθωσιν] και περι τουτων δηλωσ[αι
 μη μον]ον τοις τεταγμενοις ου[ομα
 σιν αλλα] τα μεν ξενοις· τα δε κ[αι
 νοις τα δ]ε μεταφορας· και μηδεν
 παραλιπε]ιν· αλλα πασιν τοις ιδεσιν
 35 διαποικι]λαι την ποιησιν· τοις δε [πε
 ρι τους λο]γους ουδεν εξεστι των [τοι

§ 10

ουτων α[λλ α[[π]]οτο[[λλ]]μως και των ο[νο
 ματων] τοις πολιτικοις και των ξ[ν
 θυμημα]των τοις περι αυτας τα[ε
 40 πραξει]ς αναγκαιον εστιν χρησασ[θαι
 προς δε τ]ουτοις οι μεν μετα μετρων
 και ρυθμ]ων απαντα ποιουσιν· ο· [ο
 ουδενος τ]ουτων κοινωνουσιν· α [το
 καυτην ε]χειν χαριν· ωστε αν και [τη
 45 λεξει και] τοις ενθυμημασιν εχη[ι κα
 κως ομω]ς ταις ευρυθμιας και [ταις
 συμμετ]ριας ψυχαγωγουσιν το[υς
 ακουον]τας· γνοιη δ αν τις εκειθ[εν
 την δυν]αμιν αυτων· ην γαρ τις [των
 50 ποιημα]των των ευδοκιμουνη[των
 τα μεν ο]νοματα και τας διανο[υ]σιας
 καταλι]πηι το δε μετρον διαλ[υ]σει
 φανησε]ται πολυ καταδεστερ[α
 της δοξ]ης ης νυν εχομεν περι α[υτων
 55 ομως δε] καιπερ τοσουτον πλε[ονεκ
 τουσης τ]ης ποιησεως ουκ οκηνη[εον
 αλλ απο]πειρατεον των λογων [εστιν
 ει και το]υτο δυνησονται του[ς αγα
 θους ανδ]ρας ευ λεγειν μηδεν [χει
 60 ρον τω]ν εν ταις ωδαις και το[ις με
 τροις ε]γκωμιαζοντων· πρ[ω]τ[ον
 μεν ου]ν περι της φυσεως της Εϋ[αγο
 ρου κ]αι τινων ην απογονος [ει και

§ 11

§ 12

Col. i

5 A spot of ink only; attribution to μ is conjectural.

7-8 δικαιον? So Γ pr.; δικαιότερον ΘΛ vulg.

14 l. κινείν.

18 Scanty traces of ink survive before με[γ]ιστον but they are on the vertical fibres of the lower layer and therefore probably from ink that has penetrated, so that they will not provide satisfactory evidence for the reading.

22 αυτων πωποτ[ε: πάποτ' αὐτῶν MSS.

23 l. ἐπεχείρησεν.

27 τοις θεοις τους] ανθρωπους: υ of ανθρωπους corrected from ι. Read τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις as do most MSS. and edd. (τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοὺς θεοὺς Λ and some early edd.).

28 Note that there is no room for the ἐστι καί of ΘΛ.

Col. ii

- 32 A high spot of ink after μ of $\mu\epsilon\nu$ is presumably accidental.
- 33 l. μεταφοραῖς.
- 34 l. εἶδεν.
- 37 α[[π]]οτο[[λ]]μωσ: π deleted in error. Both deletions achieved by a light diagonal stroke, in a brownish ink by a second hand.
- 38 πολιτικοὶ καὶ: so ΘΛ, omitting μόνον after πολιτικοῖς.
- 40 χρῆσασ[θαι]: χρῆσθαι MSS. The word appears to have been corrected twice, (a) from an initial χρισασθαι to χρῆσασθαι, then (b) to χρασθαι by the use of below-line dots to delete ης. But χρῆσθαι would be the expected form.
- 42 ο. [: οὐ [δε is expected, but the doubtful letter is more like υ. The papyrus apparently then contained an error or variant.
- 44 l. ἔχει. The lower point after χαριν accidental?
- 46 α of ταις corrected from ο? ὁμωσ ταις ευρυθμιαῖς: so Schol. Herm. ὁμωσ αὐταῖς ταῖς ευρυθμιαῖς ΓΔΕ and most edd., ὁμωσ ταῖς γε ευρυθμιαῖς ΘΛ.
- 47 A mark above first υ of ψυχαγωγουσιν probably accidental.
- 48 γνοιη: so ΓΔΕ; καταμάθοι ΘΛ.
- 53 l. καταδέεστερα.
- 55 καιπερ pap. with most MSS., against καὶ περὶ of Θ.
- 57 των λογων [εστω: ἐστὶ τῶν λόγων ΘΛ.
- 58 τουτο pap. with most MSS., against οὗτοι of Λ.
- 59 ευ λεγειν: l. εὐλογεῖν with most MSS. and edd. εὐ λέγειν Λ and some early edd. A mark of ink above ν of ευ λεγειν is presumably not significant.
- 62 τῆς: is the point over the η intended as a circumflex accent?

3445. LYCOPHRON, *Alexandra* 747–56, 764–9, 850–3
(Addenda to XVII 2094)

28 4 B. 61/G (10–11)a

Fr. 1 4.2 × 4.8 cm.

Second century

Several small pieces from the same copy of Lycophron's *Alexandra* as XVII 2094. These new scraps show the same high proportion of lectional signs as the fragments already published. On fr. 1 the line-ending]ωι can be read in col. i, opposite the line-space between 751 and 752 in col. ii. The nearest lines ending in these letters (aside from 741 and 743, which are too close) are 704 or 705, which would give a column of 47 or 48 lines (2094 fr. 5, the longest fragment of this manuscript, has a minimum of 35 lines), with a written height of c. 25 cm. and a roll height of more than 33 cm. The next nearest line ending with these letters is 684, but a column of 68 lines does not seem likely.

Collated with the text of Scheer (1881). There is a unique variant (probably just a mistake) in 767. In 750 a second, more cursive, hand (apparently not the same as the second hand of 2094 fr. 2–4, 935) has added an orthographic variant above the line.

For some minor amendments to 2094, see p. xviii above.

Fr. 1

Col. i

Col. ii

		
			αυ[747
			εικαῖα γόμφ[οις
			ἤç ðía τυτθ[ον
			της κῆρῦλ[ου 750
704? 705?	]ωι		αυταῖς μεσο[δμαις
			προς κῦμα [
			πό[ν]του δ' άυ[πνος
			αστωι κύνο[ικος
			εσται] παρ α[λλου 755
			βυκτ]ης στρ[οβησει
		
Fr. 2		Fr. 3	
	
765	τον] μυθ[οπλαστην	και παν]τα τλησε[θ 850	
	αρ]αc τετῖ[κ]ω[ς	της θηλ]ῦπαιδος κῆ[ι	
	ου]πω μάλ' ού[πω	ηξει δ] αλητης [
	λη]θη Μέλανθ[ον	και δωρ ανα]ψει[
	ηξ]ει γ[αρ η]ξει[ι	. . . . .
	και] Νη[ριτου		
		

750 *ει* suprascript by a second hand. The spelling *κειρύλος* does occur in some MSS. at Aristoph., *Av.* 299–300. Aristophanes no doubt created the form for the pun on *κείρειν*. But Euphronius at least took it seriously, and held *κει-* to be Attic, *κη-* Doric (Schol. Aristoph., *Av.* 299). The corrector here perhaps intended to restore an Attic spelling suitable to the generally Attic dialect of the poem.

754 *αστωι*: to the right of iota, and joining it, is a short dash at middle height. If not accidental, it should be a middle stop. But do we expect a stop at all in this place?

765 *τετῖ[κ]ω[ς*: the accent is damaged, and might in principle be part of a suprascript letter. *τετικώς* codd. plerique: *τεθεικώς* B.

767 *λη]θη*: *λήθης* codd. An impossible reading; unless perhaps *λήθη<ι>* was intended.

3446. LYCOPHRON, *Alexandra* 1239-50

37 4B. 105/J(a)

7 × 6.5 cm.

Second century

A piece from mid-column, with twelve line-ends and 2.5 cm. of the right-hand margin. The writing is small, angular, informal and rather ugly, a poor example of the style represented by 409 + 2655 (XXXIII pl. ii) and assigned to the second century; the scribe has been careful to avoid ligature, but some letters give the impression of hasty execution, and the ornamental serifs on the feet of uprights are not used consistently. There are occasional accents, and perhaps an elision-mark, but not the great assortment of lectional signs which characterizes 2094 + 3445. A second hand corrected the end of 1241. A third hand, or perhaps a third and fourth hand, using a thinner pen, was responsible for the accent in 1250 and for several glosses.

Collated with the text of Scheer (1881). The papyrus may have offered a unique reading in 1241, but it is obscured by damage.

.

1240 δε]ξετ[αι τ]υ[ρσηνια
 ρει]θρον εκβραζων π[] . .
], υρρηνοι ναπαι
 φιλι]ον εχθρος ων στρατον
 λι]ταις γουνασματων
] ερευνησας μυχον
 1245 δ]ε διπτυχοι τόκοι
] ποτ' ^{εναθη^v} οικούρο^vς δορυ
 γυι]α κυδησας λυ[γ]οις ^{ΙΙ.ε'}
 Τυρσηνο]ς αιθωνες λυκοι [] . . εφο^c
 εκγε]γωτες αιματων
 1250 ειδατω]ν πληρη κίχων

1239 τ]υ: only the foot of the letter remains. But the spacing suggests τ]υ[rather than]τ]υ.

1240 At the far right, two minute traces; π[οτ]ων acceptable.

1241], υρρηνοι: πολύρρηνοι codd. Two traces remain of the first letter in the papyrus: a short horizontal joining hypsilon just below the top, and another short horizontal at line-level; the second suits lambda, but not the first; sigma is most suggested. But *συρρηνοι* leads nowhere; *τυρρηνοι* (-ρσ- expected, cf. 1248) and *ευρρηνοι* are not palaeographically plausible. The scribe wrote rather slapdash; it may be that the upper trace is careless or accidental.

ναπαι: the top and second upright of pi, and the whole of alpha and iota, have been written by another hand, with thicker strokes and using a rounded form of alpha which is ligatured to the iota. The original letters may have been abraded and then overwritten; more likely the original scribe wrote only *ναι*, by parablepsy, and the corrector altered iota to pi, and added alpha iota.

1245 The accent may be by another hand.

1246 $\pi\sigma\tau$: the elision mark is not certain. From its position the trace might be part of the suprascript note (to be read as a damaged omicron, i.e. the article δ); but from the colour and thickness of the ink it seems more likely to belong to the main text.

$\epsilon\nu$ *Αθην(αι)*: a reference to the *οἰκουρὸς ὄφει* on the Acropolis (Kruse, *RE* xvii ii 2174 s.v. *Oikuros* (2)).

. . : over the final omicron of *οἰκουρος* muddled ink; apparently a deleted scholion (traces of at least two letters) rather than a cancelled lectional sign.

1247 [] ϵ : before epsilon, spots of ink probably not accidental; before that, rubbed surface which, if it was written on, held no more than two or three letters; over epsilon, a suprascript letter consisting of a long stroke rising quite sharply to a crest and then prolonged to the right at a more gentle angle, perhaps alpha or lambda (or mu?). One guess would be [$\acute{\alpha}\mu$] $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda(\omega)$ or $-\lambda(ov)$, since it was vine-tendrils over which Telephus tripped, see Tzetzes on *Lyc.* 206.

1248 *αἰθωνες λυκοι*: om. B.

[] $\epsilon\phi\omicron$: room for one letter before the first visible trace; at the end, to the right, a short high horizontal, probably a prolongation of the top of sigma (which must then have been the last letter). Just possibly *Τηλεφος*; he, as the father of Tarchon and Tyrrhenus, occurs several times in the scholia hereabouts (1242, 1245, 1246, 1248). But the traces do not much favour η ; and suggest ι rather than λ .

3447. STRABO IX

No inv. no.

Frr. 14-15 17.5 × 29.0 cm.

Earlier second century

Numerous fragments (many first collected and identified by Mr Lobel) from a roll containing Strabo IX. This was once a very handsome copy, as the calligraphic script and ample margins show. Total height, c. 34 cm.; column-height, c. 21 cm. (35 or 36 lines where calculable); upper margin at least 5.8 cm. (fr. 2), lower margin 7 cm. (fr. 14); column-width, c. 6-7 cm.; intercolumnium, c. 2 cm. (fr. 14). In this format, the whole of Book IX would require about 160 columns, or 14.5 m. of papyrus. The pieces which survive are widely dispersed through the text, as the following tabulation indicates (the reconstructed columniation is generally very approximate).

col. 1-16	—	col. 71	Frr. 15-19 i	col. 134	Frr. 31 + 2, 33
17	Fr. 1	72	Fr. 19 ii	135-6	—
18	—	73	Fr. 20	137	Frr. 34-6
19	Fr. 2	74-94	—	138	Fr. 37
20-50	—	95	Fr. 21	139	Fr. 38
51	Frr. 3, 4	96	Frr. 22 + 62 + 99 + 100	140	Fr. 39
52-4	—	97	—	141	Frr. 40 + 41
55	Fr. 5	98	Fr. 23	142	Fr. 42
56-7	—	99-105	—	143	Fr. 43
58	Frr. 6, 7	106	Fr. 24	144-8	—
59-60	—	107-8	—	149	Fr. 44
61	Frr. 8-11	109	Fr. 25	150	—
62	—	110	—	151	Fr. 45
63	Fr. 12	111	Frr. 26-8	152-4	—
64	—	112	—	155	Frr. 46-8
65	Fr. 13	113	Fr. 29	156	Fr. 49
66-8	—	114-17	—	157	Frr. 50-52
69	Fr. 14 i	118	Fr. 30		
70	Frr. 14 ii + 15 i	119-33	—		

In four places, groups of consecutive columns are represented (69–73, 95–6, 137–43, 155–7). But most of their fragments do not join physically; only fr. 14, 15 and 19 still have remains of two columns on a single piece.

The hand is a medium-sized upright, bilinear except for phi (whose large bowl fills the line, and whose hasta projects above and below), and ornamented with oblique serifs; it belongs to the so-called Roman Uncial type exemplified by V 844, VIII 1084 and XX 2260, which are assigned to the early second century (on the style see Cavallo, *ASNP* 36 (1967), 209; Turner, *GMAW*, pp. 25, 38 n. 1). Iota adscript is written throughout. Punctuation consists of high stop, middle stop and paragraphus. Diaeresis is marked. The few accents and breathings seem from the colour of the ink to be the work of a second hand, which was also responsible for about half of the punctuation. This second hand has also cancelled a number of letters, especially superfluous movable nu, and made at least one correction (fr. 39. 4), though this is an obvious one and there is no reason to think that the corrector was collating the text with a second MS.

This is the first papyrus of the extant Strabo to be published (P. Colon. inv. 5861, edited by B. Kramer, *ZPE* 9 (1972), 204–11 and again as P. Köln 18, contains the end of Book VII, which otherwise survives only in epitome). The text offers some points of textual interest, though perhaps not as many as might have been expected in view of its antiquity. The collation has been based on the *editio maior* of G. Kramer (1844–52), and on W. Aly's edition (1956) of the Vatican Palimpsest, Vat. gr. 2306/2061A; account has also been taken of the later collations and emendations collected by H. L. Jones (Loeb edn., 1927). The sigla employed are those of Jones after Kramer; Π designates the Vatican Palimpsest (Aly's V), 'Pap.' the papyrus. For a full account of all the MSS. and modern editions see A. Diller, *The Textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography* (Amsterdam, 1975); on the textual tradition see also the editions of F. Sbordone (vol. 1, Rome, 1964), W. Aly (Bonn, 1968) and G. Aujac & F. Lasserre (vol. 1 i, Paris, 1969).

Two categories of reading deserve special mention:

(i) New readings in 3447

Excluding variants in spelling, which are confined in all instances to proper names, the papyrus exhibits eighteen new readings.

Two are due to scribal error, and may be rejected immediately: fr. 26–8. 5 f. εἰσεποιήσαντο for -σαντο, 14 f. ἀξιώμασι for -μασι. Another probably represents an accidental omission, which makes still less intelligible a sentence already corrupt in most MSS. (as Π shows): fr. 40 + 41. 10 μετονομάζουσι for καὶ μετονομάζουσι.

Seven are of uncertain value: fr. 1. 3 πετρῶδες ἔρημον for ἔρημον πετρῶδες; fr. 1. 4 εἶπαν for εἶπον; fr. 8–11. 9 f. τὸν Ἐρωτα ὀψόμενοι for ὀψόμενοι τὸν Ἐρωτα;

fr. 14 i 31 παρακειμένων for περι-; fr. 31 + 32. 9 Μαγνήτων for Μαγνησίας; fr. 39. 8 καί for καὶ μὴν; fr. 40 + 41. 11 ἄλλως ὡς for ὡς (Π) or ἄλλως ὃ καί (cett.).

Four seem to be improvements: fr. 14 i 9 οἷ τε for οἱ δέ (with the support of the Homeric MSS.); fr. 14 i 20 οὐδ' for οὐτε (confirming Meineke's necessary conjecture); fr. 14 ii + 15 i 7 μὲν τοίνυν for τοίνυν; fr. 38. 9 καὶ ταύτην for καὶ [] (lacuna in MSS.; αὐτήν suppl. Du Theil).

In the remaining cases (fr. 22 + 100. 1-4, 29. 4 f., 31 + 32. 9 f., 38. 11 f., 39. 3 f.) the reading of the papyrus is uncertain, but probably different from that of the MSS.

Definite improvements to the text are therefore not very numerous, and in general the reliability of the MSS. tradition appears to be confirmed.

(ii) Agreements of 3447 with the later MSS. against Π

An interesting aspect of this papyrus is its tendency to support the readings of the later MSS. against the Vatican Palimpsest, which is otherwise the oldest witness (fifth century) and which comes from a different branch of the tradition from the other MSS. Excluding variants in spelling, which are confined to proper names (fr. 14 ii + 15 i 2 f., 3, 4, 6 f., 10), there are ten clear instances where 3447 sides with cett. against Π (fr. 14. 11, 13, 20 f., 22 f., 27 f.; 14 ii + 15 i 14; 15 ii 8; 19 ii 6; 40 + 41. 9 f.; 42. 1), and only two instances where 3447 sides with Π against cett. (fr. 14 i 22; 30. 1). In one other place, fr. 40 + 41. 11, where 3447 has ἄλλως ὡς, Π has ὡς and cett. ἄλλως ὃ καί, the papyrus could be said to support both or neither. In almost all cases where the papyrus agrees with cett. against Π, their reading seems preferable to that of the Palimpsest. Of the two cases where the papyrus agrees with Π, one is a question of word-order and a decision either way seems to me impossible (fr. 30. 1); in the other, fr. 14 i 22, their joint reading is perhaps to be preferred.

It would not be correct, however, to interpret this agreement of 3447 with cett. against the Palimpsest as evidence that the split in the MSS. tradition had already taken place at this early stage. Their tendency to agreement shows rather that in Π we are dealing with a much more faulty text than we have in the case of cett. (cf. A. Diller, l.c. 22), thus confirming an observation made already by Aly and Lasserre about the Palimpsest.

A residue of small fragments from this text remains unplaced. Those which may be tentatively located in one position or another are presented as 'Possible Identifications' (fr. 53-7 and 70). The rest are collected as 'Unplaced Frr.' I should like to thank Professor S. Michaelson and A. Q. Morton of the Department of Computer Science at the University of Edinburgh for their kindness in checking a number of these unplaced fragments against a computer tape of Strabo VIII-X. Their results, which are summarized in the notes *ad. loc.*, show that there is no reason to suspect that we are dealing here with any other book of Strabo except Book IX.

Fr. 1 (395C 1. 14)

. . . .
 ειθ ο φ]ωρ[ω]ν λι[μην και
 η ψυτ]ταλεια ν[ησιον
 πετρ]ωδες ερ[ημον ο
 τινες] ειπαν λ[ημην
 5 του πει]ραιεω[ς πλη
 σιον δε κ]αι η αταλ[αν
 τη ομω]νυμος τη[ι περι
 ευβοια]ν και λοκρ[ους
 και αλλο] νησιον ομ[οι
 10 ον τηι ψ]υτταλειαι κ[αι
 τουτο ειθ ο π]ε[ι]ραει[ευς

Fr. 2 (396C 1. 15)

των προτερον' ρω[μαιων
] δ υστερον ηνικα κυ[λλας
 εκ πολιορκιας ειλεν] [και
 τον πειρα[ι]α και το ασ[τυ το
 5 δ] αστυ αυτ[ο π]ετρα εστ[ιν εν
 πεδιωι π[ερι]οικουμ[ενη
 κυκλωι· επι δε τηι π[ετραι
 το της αθηνας ιερο[ν ο τε
 αρχ[αι].ς νε[ω]ς ο της π[ολι
 10 αδος εν] ωι [ο α]ρβεστ[ος
 λυχνος] και [ο π]αρθεν[ων
 ον επ]οιης[εν ι]κτει[νος
 εν ωι] τ[ο] τ[ο]ν [φειδιου] ερ
 [γον

(400C 2. 2 (?): see fr. 53)

Fr. 3 (406C 2. 17)

κισθεν]των η [της λιμ
 νης επι] πολυ τα[πεινω
 θειση]ς δ[ια τας υστερον

Fr. 4 (406C 2. 18)

. . . .
]ρι[
] ηι π[ρο
 σεθεσαν ρωμαι]ρι την
 ανω καλειται δ] ο τοπος
 5 αγχοη εστι δε] και λι>
 μνη ομωνυμο]ς εν[τευ
 [θεν

Fr. 5 (408C 2. 20)

υπο νιφο]εντι υδης εν π[ιο
 νι δημωι] η δε β[οιω]τιακη
 επιφερ]ε[ι] γ[ουν] τωι

Frr. 6+7 (409C 2. 24)

την υπ]ωρ[ειαν αυτου
 κλυζων] και [ποιων] τους

Fr. 6

παρασω]πιο[υς εις κατοικι
 ας πλει]ους [διηρημε
 5 νους απ]αντα[ς δ υπο θ]ηβα[ι Fr. 7
 οισ ο]ντας [ετεροι δ ε]ν τ[ηι
 . . .

Fr. 8-11 (410C 2. 25)

. . .
 εγνωρι]ζοντο δια [τον Fr. 8
 ερωτα] τον πραξιτ[ελους
 [ον εγλυψε μεν εκεινος]
 [ανεθηκε δε η γλυκερα η]
 5 ετ]αιρα θ[εσπιευσιν Fr. 9
 ε]κειθεν ο[υσα το γε
 νο]ς λαβου[σα δωρον πα
 ρα τ]ον τε[χνιτου προτε
 ρον [μεν ουν τον ερω Fr. 10
 10 τα οψ]ομενοι τινες α
 νεβα[ινον επι την
 .]. αν [αλλως ουκ ουσαν
 [αξιοθεατον νυνι δε]
 [μονη συνεστηκε των]
 15 βο]ιωτι[ακων πολεων Fr. 11
 κα]ι τανα[γρα των δ αλλων
 ερειπ]ια [και ονοματα
 . . .

Fr. 12 (411C 2. 27)

. . .
 νυμος ε]λεγετο [κωπαις
 μεν των] κωπ[ων αλιαρτος
 . . .

Fr. 13 (411C 2. 30-1)

. . .
 ρι[ον του περμησσου και
 του ο]λμειου και του ε
 λους [του φυοντος τον αυ
 λητικ]ον καλαμον πλα
 5 ταιαι [δε ας ενικως ει
 πεν [ο ποιητης υπο τωι
 . . .

Fr. 14 col. i (413C 2. 34-5)

κείται εν υψει] φ[ασι δε
 τουτ]ο [καλει]σθαι αρνη]ην
 υ]πο του [π]ο[ι]ητου ομω
 υ]υμον τη θετταλικ[ηι
 5 οι] δε φασι[[υ]] και την α[ρ
 υ]ην υπο της λιμνης κα
 τα]ποθηναι και την
 μιδ]ειαν. ζηνοδοτος δε
 γραφ]ων· οι τε πολυστα
 10 φυλον α]ςκρην εχον· ου
 κ εοικεν] εντυχοντι τοις
 υπο ησιοδο]υ περι της πα
 τριδος λεχθε]ις[[υ]] και >
 τοις υ]π ευδοξου πολυ >
 15 χειρω] λεγοντος περι της
 ασκρη]ς· πως γαρ αν τις
 πολυστ]αφυλον την τοι
 αυτην] υπο του ποιητου
 λεγεσθ]αι πι[στευσειεν
 20 ουκ ευ δ] ουδ ο[ι ταρνην] αν
 τι της] αρνης γρ[α]φον
 τες ου]δεμια γα[ρ δ]εικνυ
 ται ταρ]νη παρα τ[οι]ς βοι
 ωτοις] εν δε λυδοις εστιν
 25 ης και ο]μηρος μεμνη
 ται ιδο]μενευς δ αρα φαι
 στον εν]ηρατο τεκτο[[υ]]
 νος υ]ιον βωρον ος εκ
 ταρνη]ς εριβωλακος ειλη
 30 λουθει] λοιπαι δ εις[[υ]] των
 μεν] παρακειμενων

Fr. 14 col. ii + 15 col. i (413C 2. 35-6)

τη λιμνη αι τε α[λαλκο
 μεναι και το τιλ]φωσσι
 ον των δ αλλων [χαιρω
 νεια και λεβαδεια [και
 5 λευκτρα περι ων α]ξιον
 μνησθηναι· αλαλ[κο]με
 νων μεν τοιυνυ με
 μνηται ο ποιη]της· αλ
 λ ουκ εν καταλογω η
 10 ρη τ αργε]ιη κ[αι αλ]αλκομε
 νηις αθ]ην[η] εχ]ει δ αρ
 χαιον] ιερον α[θη]νας
 σφοδρ]α τιμωμεν[ο]ν
 και φασι γε τ]ην θεον
 15 γ[εγενησθαι ε]νθαδε
 κ[αθαπερ και τη]ν ηραν
 ε[ν αργει και δι]α τουτο
 τ[ον ποιη]την ως απο
 π[ατριδω]ν [[ο]] τουτων α[μ
 20 φ[οτερας ο]υτως ονομ[α
 ς[αι δια το]υτο δ [ι]ως [ου
 δ [εν τωι κατα]λογω[ι με
 μνηται των] εντα[υθα αν
 δρων επει]δη ι[εροι ον
 25 [τες παρειντο της στρα]
 τ[ειας
 [
 [
 [
 30 [
 [
 [
 πασης] β[ιας ως]τε [και
 θηβαιοι κατα την [των

Frr. 15 col. ii + 16–18 + 19 col. i (413–14 C 2. 36–8)

. [. . .]
 . [. . .] τειρεσι]
 ο[υ μνημα εκει τελευ
 τ[ησαντος κατα την] φυ Fr. 17
 γ[ην χαιρωνεια] δ ε[σ]τιν
 5 ο[ρχομενου πλ]ησιον ο
 π[ου φιλιππος ο] αμ[υ]ντου
 μ[αχη μεγαλη] νικησας
 αθη[ν]αιους τε κ[αι] βοιω Fr. 16
 τρους κ[αι] κορινθ]ιους κα
 10 τ[ε]στη [της ελλαδος κυρ]ι
 ο[σ] δεξί[κνυται δε καν
 τ[αυθα

. . .
 . . .

λεβα]
 δεια δ εστιν οπου] διος (Fr. 19 col. i)
 τροφωνιου μαντει]ον
 15 ιδρυται χασματος υπ]ο
 νομου καταβα]σιν εχον (Fr. 18)
 καταβαινει δ] αυτος
 ο χρηστηριαζομ]ενος κ[ει
 [ται

. . .

Frr. 19 col. ii + 68 (414 C 2. 39–30)

. . .
 δευτερα]ι συ[μβολη]ι τη
 περι] μαντιν[ειαν κακως
 ε]πραξαν· το με[ντοι μη
 υ]φ ετεροις ειναι [καιπερ
 5 .]ουτως επταικ[οσι συ
 νεμεινε μεχρι της ρω

μα[ι]ων επικρατειας κα[ι]
 παρα τουτοις δε τιμωμ[ε]
 νοι διατελους[ι δια την
 10 της πολιτειας αρ[ετην
 δεικ]νυται δε ο το[πος ου
 τος] κατα την εκ [πλαται
 ων εις θε[σπιας οδον ε
 ξης δε ο π[οιητης μεμνη
 15 ται του των [ορχομενι
 ων καταλο[γου χωρι
 ζων αυτους [απο του βοι
 ωτιακου εθ[ο]υ[ς καλει
 δε μινυειον τον [ορχο
 20 μ[ενο]ν απο εθνο[υς του
 μινυ]ων [ε]γτευθεν [δε απ (Fr. 68)
 οικ]ησα[ι τ]ινας τω[ν μινυ

Fr. 20 (414C 2. 40)

. . .
 αυ[των ον υφ ηρακλεουσ
 κατ[αλυθηναι φασιν ε
 τεοκ[λης δε των βασιλευ
 καν[των εν ορχομενωι
 . . .

Fr. 21 (422 C 3. 11)

. . .
 διοι]
 κειν νομιζουσι φη]σι[[ν]]
 αυτον οι μεν αυτ]ον >
 τον θεον σωματ]ρειδη
 γινομενον οι δ ανθ]ρω
 5 ποικ εννοιαν παρα]δι
 δοντα της εαυτου βου]λη
 [σεωσ
 . . .

Fr. 22 + 62 + 99 + 100 (422C 3. 12)

. . .
]. .[.]. . .[
]ν δε κατα[
]λυσαι ψ[
].[
 5 εχο]ντα τον το[πον βι

αιον] ἀνδρα και π[αρανο (Fr. 22)
 μον τ]ους δε πα[ρνασσιους
 κυμμιξ]αντας α[υτωι και
 αλλον] μηνυσα[ι χαλε
 10 πον ανδ]ρα πυθ[ωνα του
 νομα επ]ικλη[σιν δε

Fr. 23 (423 C 3. 13)

· · ·
 δαυλι]
 δα ειπεν] οι δ [υστερον
 δαυλιαν] και [το κυπαρισσον
 δ εχον] δεχο[νται δις
 πως οι μ]εν ομ[ωνυμως

Fr. 24 (426 C 4. 4)

· · ·
 νησοι προ]κειν[τ]α[ι απο λι
 χα τουνομα] εχουσαι [και αλ
 λαι δ εισιν] εν τωι λ[εχ
 θεντι παρα]πλωι α[ς εκον
 5 τες παραλει]π[ομεν

Fr. 25 (427 C 4. 8)

· · ·
 ιδρυ]
 ται του κρι]ζαιου πε[δι
 ου κατεσπα]σαν δ αυτ[ην

Frr. 26–8 (427 C 4. 10)

· · ·
 ιστορο]υς[ιν υφ ηρα
 κλεου]ς· απεμν[ημονευ
 σεν ουν αυτω]ι την χαριν
 τελευτησαντι [περι την
 5 οιτην· υλλον γ[αρ εισεποι
 ησαντο τον π[ρεσβυτα
 τον των εκξ]ινου παι
 δω[ν και] διεδ[εξατο εκει
 νος τ[ην] αρχη[ν και οι
 10 πογονοι εν]τε[υθεν ορ
 μηθ[εισι] τρις [ηρακλει
 δαις υπ[η]ρξεν [η εις πελο
 ποννησος] [καθοδος τε
 ως μεν ου]ν ησαν εν α
 15 ξιωμασι[ν αι πολεις και
 πε[ρ ου]ς[αι μικραι και

Fr. 29 (428C 4. 12-13)

· · ·
 του[ς λοκρους εκ της θεε
 ταλι[ας την μεν ουν παρο
 δον [πυλας καλουσι και στε
 να κ[αι θερμοπυλας
 5 δ[
 υδ[ατα τιμωμενα ως
 · · ·

Fr. 30 (429C 5. 1)

· · ·
 παρν]ασσωι [καλεισθω
 δε το] μεν π[ρος τοις μα
 κεδο]σι[[ν]] πλ[ευρον αρκ
 τικο]ν· το δ[ε] [ετερον νοτιον
 · · ·

(435C 5. 14 (?): see fr. 54)

Frr. 31 + 32 (435-436C 5. 14-15)

ειτα ακρα πυρ]ρα και δυ[ο
 νησια πλησιον] ὧν το >
 [
 [
 5 [
 [
 υπο τωι ευμηλωι κατα]λε
 γει την συνεχη πα]ραλι
 αν 5-7 μαγ]νητων
 10 2-4 και της πελ]ασγι
 ωτιδος γης φεραι] μεν
 ουν εις περας τ]ων [πε
 [λασγικων
 · · ·

Fr. 33 (436C 5. 15)

· · ·
 κατεσκαπ]
 ται μ]εγ εκ π[αλαιου εν
 τευθε]ν δ εστε]ιλε τον ιασο
 να κα]ι την αργ[ω πελιας
 απο δε] της ναυ[πηγιας
 5 της αρ]γουσ και [παγασας
 λεγεσθ]αι μυθευ[ουσι τον
 τοπο]ν· οι δε π[ιθανωτερον
 · · ·

Frr. 34-6 (436-437C 5. 16)

εστιν προκε]ινται δε
 των μαγνητων] νησοι
 [
 [
 5 [
 νησο]ς τε και σκυρος ομωνυ

μους [εχουσαι πολεις μα
 λιστα [δ εστιν εν ονοματι
 σ]κυρος [δια την λυκομη
 10 δους π[ρος αχιλλεα.οι
 [κειοτητα
 [
 [
 [
 15 φιλιππος αυ]ξηθεις
 ορων αθηναιο]υς επικρατουν
 τας της θ]αλαττης και
 των νησ]ων αρχοντας
 . . .

Fr. 38 (437C 5. 17)

. . .
 τ]ην ιστιαιωτιν κατε
 στ[ρε]ψαντο [και τους ανθρω
 πο]υς εις τ]ην ηπειρον
 ανεσπασ[αν δια το
 5 πληθος τω]ν εποικησαν
 των εστι[αιων την χω
 ραν απ ε]κεινων ουτως
 εκαλεσαν [καλουσι δε
 κ[α]ι ταυτη]ν και την δολο
 10 π[ι]αν τη]ν ανω θετταλι
 α]ν επ ευθειας μακεδони
 α]ι καθαπερ και την κα
 τω [τηι κατω εστι δ η μεν
 τρ]ικκη οπου το ιερον
 . . .

(438C 5. 17 (?): see fr. 55)

(437C 5. 16 (?): see fr. 70)

Fr. 37 (437C 5. 17)

. . .
 τ]ης πινδ[ου μεχρι της
 κα]τω θετ[ταλιας διεξει
 σιν]. οι δ ειχ[ον τρικκην
 . . .

Fr. 39 (438C 5. 17)

. . .
 φ]ησιν εν τοις ιαμβοις
 τας α[φροδιτας η θεος γαρ
 ου μ[ια σ. 7-11 κα
 [[ι]]'ε'πν[ιητιν υπερβαλλε
 5 σθ]αι πασας τωι φρονειν
 οτι μ[ονη παραδεχεται
 την τ[ων υων θυσιαν
 και π[ολυιστωρ ει τις
 . . .

Frr. 40 + 41 (438C 5. 17)

. . .
 φε]
 ρεται] παρ[α τε ατρακα και λα
 ρισα]ν κα[ι τους εν τη
 θεττα]λιω[τιδι δεξαμε
 νος π]οταμ[ους προεισι
 5 δια τ]ων τε[μπων επι τας εκ
 βολας τ]ην δ οιχα[λιαν πο
 λιν ευρυ]του λεγομ[ενην
 εν τε το]ις τοποις [τουτοις
 ιστορους]ι[[ν]] και εν ε[υβοι
 10 αι και εν] αρκαδιαι μετο
 νομαζ]ουσιν αλλως ως
 εν τοις π]ελοπο[ννησια
 κοις ειρηται περι δ]ε του
 [των
 . . .

Fr. 43 (438C 5. 18)

εσ πληλα α]νακτα· [εκτισθαι
 γαρ υπο ορ]μενου τ[ο χωριον
 . . .

Fr. 45 (441C 5. 20)

. . .
 τιταρ]ησιφ[υ λιπαρον εκ
 τινος] υλη[ε ωστ ου κυμ
 μισγετ]αι· αλ[λα τε μιν
 . . .

Fr. 42 (438C 5. 17)

ειν ταυτα] μεν δη τα [χωρια
 τοις ασκλ]ηπια[δαις υπε
 [ταξεν
 . . .

Fr. 44 (440C 5. 19)

. . .
 περραιβικ]αι πολ[εις
 και γοννος η δ] ηλων[η
 μετεβαλε τ]ουνομ[α
 λειμωνη μετο]νομας[θει
 5 α κατεσκαπ]ται δε υ[ν
 . . .

Frr. 46-8 (443C 5. 22)

. . .
 καθαναι]
 ας κω[μη]ς υπο τωι πη
 λιωι κ[ει]μενης αιγια
 λος ες]τιν εν ωι ο ξερξ[ου

(442 C 5. 21 (?): see fr. 56)

(442 C 5. 22 (?): see fr. 57)

στολο]ς ναυλοχω[ν α]πη
 5 λιωτου πολλου [πνευ] >
 ζαντος ο μεν ευ[θυσ] αυ
 του προς το] ξηρο[ν ε]ξω
 κειλε και διελυθη [πα]ρα
 χρημα ο δ] εις ἴπν[ους το
 10 πον τραχυν] των περ[ι το
 πηλιον πα]ρενεχθεις [ο δε
 εις μελιβοι]αν· ο δ' ε' εις τη[ν
 καθαναια]ν διε[φ]θα[ρη

Fr. 49 (443 C 5. 22)

του μαντεως] τ[ο]υ τει
 ρειου αλλ α]πο τ[ο]υ λα
 πιθου του κυμ]πλευ[σαν
 τος τοις αργο]ναυ[ταις αλ
 5 λος δ εστι μο]ψος [αφ ου η

Fr. 50-2 (444 C 5. 23)

α[ι]μ[ονιαν λεχ]θη[ναι
 μετων[ομας]θαι δε
 την μεν [ελλα]δα απο
 ελληνος [του δ]ευκαλιω
 5 νος· την δε [ε θετ]ταλιαν
 α]πο του υ[ιου αιμονος

Possible identifications

Fr. 53 (400 C 2. 2 ?)

ιτα]
 λιας και] κυ[ελιας και
 λιβυης] δεχ[ομενη επι δε
 των προ]ς [ευβοιαν μερων

Fr. 54 (435 C 5. 14 ?)

υπερκειν]
 ται δε πυρασου μεν] αι
 θηβαι των θηβων δε ε]ν
 τη μεσογαιαι το κροκιο]ν
 πεδιον προς τωι κατα]λη
 5 γοντι της οθρυος δι ου] ο

Fr. 70 (437C 5. 16 ?)

. . .
 α[υτης της μαγνητιδος τα
 πο[λλα μερη μακεδони
 αν [εποιησε και της θραι
 κη[ς και της αλλης της
 . . .

Fr. 55 (438C 5. 17 ?)

. . .
 τ]ουτο [ων ειναι και την
 εν] τη[ι μητροπολει
 . . .

Fr. 56 (442C 5. 21 ?)

. . .
 γυρτωνα εχο]ν[τες ους η
 δη κατελεξε] κα[ι το ορ
 μειον και α]λλο[ι πλει
 [ους
 . . .

Fr. 57 (442C 5. 22 ?)

. . .
 οι] μεν [ουν αινιανες οι πλει
 ου]ς εις τη[ν οιτην εξηλαθη
 [σαν
 . . .

Unplaced frr.

Fr. 58

]η[
]ϋ[
 . . .

Fr. 59

. . .
]εν.[
]ρ[
 . . .

Frr. 60 and 61

]αν[
].α.[
]ν.[
].ρν[.]ψ[
 5]..[
 . . .

Fr. 62

see fr. 22

Fr. 63

]ην[
].ας.[
 . . .

Fr. 64

. . .
].[
]υφενος[

Fr. 65

. . .
].[
]ατω
]ακω[

Fr. 66

. . .
]ουξη[

Fr. 67

. . .
].co[
]ειν.[

Fr. 68

see fr. 19 ii

Fr. 69

. . .
 τε[
 πο[
 ..[
 . . .

Fr. 70

see Possible identifications

Fr. 71

. . .
].ηc
]αι>
]ται
].κολ
 5].>
 . . .

Fr. 72

. . .
].
]ονκαλ
]τοccτoα
 . . .

Fr. 73

. . .
]δε.[
].ανκυ[
]ο.[
 . . .

Fr. 74

. . .
]δο[
]οιυ[
]τοπ[
]ουcδ[
 . . .

Fr. 75

. . .
]η.[
]δη[
].ετφ[
]τ[
 . . .

Fr. 76

. . .
].ωνυ[
]ψτλ[
 . . .

Fr. 77

. . .
].[
]πε.[
]φ[
 . . .

Fr. 78

. . .
].α[
].ν[
]αι.[
]νξ[
 5].μ[
 . . .

Fr. 79

. . .
]ατα[
]εμ.[
]ης.[
]α[
 . . .

Fr. 80

. . .
].αουδ[
].ζ'ο'η·την[
 . . .

Fr. 81

. . .
]τοτ[
 . . .

Fr. 82

. . .
].ξξ[
].ην[
 . . .

Fr. 83

· · ·
].ς.[
]cυτ[
]..[
 · · ·

Fr. 84

· · ·
]υ[
]αι.[
]πρ[
 · · ·

Fr. 85

· · ·
],ντ.[
]το.[
]ιπς[
 · · ·

Fr. 86

· · ·
].[
]ηυ[
]ντ[
]..[
 s]ςε.[
].ξ.[
 · · ·

Fr. 87

· · ·
]μς[
]νω[
].[
 · · ·

Fr. 88

· · ·
],τγ.[
]θγ'ι'τ[
 · · ·

Fr. 89

· · ·
].χςις[
]νϋπα[
],υυ[
 · · ·

Fr. 90

· · ·
]ψω[
]ηκ[
 · · ·

Fr. 91

· · ·
]κ.[
]υυ[
 · · ·

Fr. 92

· · ·
].[
]α.[
]εϛ.[
].ημ[
 · · ·

Fr. 93

· · ·
]αντ[
]ετ.[
 · · ·

Fr. 94

· · ·
]υ.[
].τω[
 · · ·

Fr. 95

· · ·
].[
]φνδ[
]υυ[
 · · ·

Fr. 96

· · ·
]τα[
]αν[
 · · ·

Fr. 97

· · ·
].[
]η.[
].α.[
 · · ·

Fr. 98

· · ·
]....[
]εεϛτου[
].επ....[
 · · ·

Fr. 99 + 100
 see fr. 22

Fr. 101

· · ·
]ροιοιμεν.[
 · · ·

Fr. 102

. . .
] . . . [
] γτο [
] θρα [
 . . .

Fr. 103

. . .
] . κα [
 . . .

Fr. 1 (395C 1. 14)

2 ψυτταλεία Pap.; ψυτταλία MSS. On ει for ι see Mayser I 1², pp 66–9.

3 πετρώδες ἔρημον Pap.; ἔρημον πετρώδες MSS.

4 εἶπαν Pap.; εἶπον MSS. The forms in -α are common in documentary papyri, see Mayser I 2², p. 135, so that this is unlikely to be a significant variant.

λ[ήμην: λήμην corr. Cor.; λιμένα MSS. The spacing in Pap. would allow either.

5 Πειραίεως Pap., Bk(??); Πειραιῶς cett.

6 Ἀταλάντη Pap., codd. plerique; ἀτλάντη hc.

10 ψυτταλεία Pap.; ψυτταλία MSS.: v. supra, line 2.

Fr. 2 (396C 1. 15); 5·8 cm. of top margin intact, c. 45 lines lost between end of fr. 1 and this fr.

2 Trace (right-hand end of low horizontal) in margin; too close to belong to previous column.

4–5 Right-hand end of paragraphus just visible.

7 What I have doubtfully taken as a stop (by 1st hand) has the shape of a small rough-breathing; if it was meant as a breathing, it must be a mistake.

9 ἀρχ[αι]. c: before c corner of a letter with serif, possibly α although an extreme form of ο cannot be excluded. ἀρχαῖος MSS.

12 Ἰκτεῖνος Pap.; Ἰκτίνος MSS.: v. supra, fr. 1. 2 n.

Fr. 3 (406C 2. 17); 3·4 cm. of top margin intact.

3 Traces only.

Fr. 4 (406C 2. 18); c. 22 lines lost between end of fr. 3 and this fr.

1 . . . Βοιωτιακή (-τική Blg), ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἣ προσέθεσαν κτλ MSS.]ρι[: first letter very uncertain; ο fits traces better than either π or τ, though ἐ]π[ι] or]τῆ[ι would both fit line lengths better than Β]ρι[ωτιακή. A possibility would be to read Βοιω]τι[κή with Blg.

5 Filler mark by 1st hand.

καί Pap., codd. plerique; om. cgh.

Fr. 5 (408C 2. 20); 3·8 cm. of top margin intact.

Frr. 6+7 (409C 2. 24); 2·3 cm. of top margin intact.

4 πλείους Pap., codd. plerique; πλείονας gno.

Frr. 8–11 (410C 2. 25)

7 First letter very closed for c; a mark above it perhaps a correction by 1st hand.

9–10 τὸν Ἔρ. ὀψόμενοι Pap.; ὀψόμενοι τὸν Ἔρ. MSS.

11–12 [την].]αν: τὴν θέαν MSS.; τὴν Θεσπέιαν conj. Cor.; a tiny trace only before α, which would suit epsilon and iota equally well. Probably θ]ξαν, as MSS.; possibly Θεσ]π]ι]ξαν (but this makes 11 rather long); not Θεσ]π]ε]ι]ξαν (excluded by the spacing in 12).

Fr. 13 (411C 2. 30–1)

4 Paragraphus by 1st hand.

Fr. 14 col. i (413C 2.34–5); 7·0 cm. of bottom margin intact below col. i; an intercolumnar margin of 2·0–2·3 cm.

5 Final ν cancelled by 2nd hand with a diagonal stroke and a suprascript dot.

7 καταποθήναι Pap., codd. plerique; θείσαν sup. sec. m. add. A; καταποθήναι θείσαν c; καταποθείσαν ghi.

8 Middle stop by 1st hand.

9 High stop by 2nd hand; the high stop is also used to mark the start of a quotation in fr. 37. 3.

9-10 οἷ τε πολυστά[[φυλον Pap., codd. Homerici omnes (ad B 507); οἷ δέ MSS.; the reading of Pap., supported as it is by the Homeric MSS., is clearly to be preferred.

10 High stop by 2nd hand.

10-11 Ἄσκηρην ἔχον οὐκ ἔοικεν Pap., codd. plerique; Ἄσκηρην ἔχον, οἷ τε Μίδειαν Π: Π has completed Homer's line unnecessarily, possibly by reference to a separate text of the *Iliad*. The reading of Pap. and the other MSS. is to be preferred.

11 ἐντυχόντι Pap., codd. plerique; ἐντύχεντι I(?)m; ἐντυχεῖν Bno.

12 Spacing does not determine whether Pap. read ἕφ' Ἑσιόδου with Π in the first part of the line or ἕπο Ἑσιόδου with cett. περί Pap., codd. plerique; om. I.

13 Final ν cancelled (with stroke and suprascript dot) by 2nd hand; filler mark by 1st hand. λεχθείει Pap., codd. plerique; λεχθήναι I; λεχθείναι B ex corr.(?); εἰρημένους Π: the reading of the majority of MSS., supported now by Pap., should be retained.

14 Filler mark by 1st hand.

16 Middle stop by 2nd hand.

20 οὐδ' Pap.; οὔτε MSS.; οὐδέ corr. Meineke; Meineke's necessary correction is confirmed.

20-2 οἱ Τάρνην ἀντὶ τῆς Ἄρνης γράφοντες Pap., codd. plerique; οἱ γράφοντες Τάρνην ἀντὶ τῆς Ἄρνης Π: the word order of Pap. and the majority of MSS. is probably to be preferred over that of Π.

22 οὐδεμία γάρ Pap., Π; οὐδὲ γὰρ μία cett.: there seems no reason to retain the more forceful οὐδὲ γὰρ μία, and in this instance the reading of Pap. and Π should probably be adopted.

22-3 δείκνυται Τάρνη Pap., cett.; Τάρνη δείκνυται Π: the word order of Pap. and the other MSS. is probably to be preferred.

23 τοῖς Pap., codd. plerique; om. B1.

27 ν cancelled by 1st hand, in the course of making an incorrect word division.

27-8 τέκτονος Pap., codd. plerique; Μήνονος Π, Du Theil: see Allen's apparatus to E 43.

30 Final ν cancelled by 2nd hand with a stroke and a suprascript dot.

31 Perhaps a longer word than μέν at start of line; three letters seem too few to fill out the line.

παρακειμένων Pap.; περικειμένων MSS.: it is difficult to decide which verb describes more correctly the position of the three villages mentioned by Strabo. Both Arne and Tilphossion lay on the lake of Copais, though the exact position of Arne remains uncertain (Geiger, *RE* xi. 2 1346-60, s.v. 'Kopais', with map), but Alalkomenai lay at the foot of Mt. Helicon (O. Hirschfeld, *RE* i. 1 1275-6) and could not be termed περικειμένος in the same sense as the other villages. The reading of Pap. may therefore be preferable to that of the MSS.

Frr. 14 col. ii + 15 col. i (413C 2. 35-6); 1.0 cm. of top margin intact, 6.5 cm. of bottom margin; intercolumnar margin is 2.0 cm.

2 Dot of ink between ι and τ of καὶ τό may be accidental, or possibly a middle stop by 2nd hand, to prevent misreading of these letters as π.

2-3 Τιλφώσσιον Pap., codd. plerique; Τιλφώσσαιον Π; Τιςφώσιον Ach: the spelling of this name varies a great deal from one author to another: F. Schober, *RE* vi A 1 1044-5. The reading of the majority of MSS., supported now by Pap., should probably be followed.

3-4 Χαιρώνεια Pap., codd. plerique; Χαιρώνια Π; Χερώνεια Ach.

4 Λεβάδεια Pap., codd. plerique; Λεβάδαια Π. A diagonal stroke in margin to the left of this line, or to the right of the corresponding line in col. i, in same ink as 1st hand, possibly a check mark.

5 Accent and breathing by 2nd hand.

6 Paragraphus and middle stop by 1st hand.

6-7 Ἀλαλκομενῶν Pap., codd. plerique; Ἀλλακομενῶν Π.

7 μὲν τοίνυν Pap.; μὲν om. MSS.

8 Middle stop by 1st hand (?).

10-11 Ἀλαλκομενηῖς Pap., codd. plerique; Ἀλλακομενηῖς Π.

11 Apparently a space was left blank between the end of the quotation and the resumption of the text; cf. fr. 14. 28 where a space is left to show the beginning of a new verse.

- 12 Diaeresis by 2nd hand.
 14 *θεόν* Pap., codd. plerique; *θεάν Π.*
 15 *ἐνθάδε* Pap., MSS.; *ἐνταῦθα* conj. edd. ante Kruger.
 19 *ο* cancelled by 1st hand with stroke and suprascript dot.
 21 Paragraphus by 2nd hand (?).

Frr. 15 col. ii + 16–18 + 19 col. i (413–414 C 2. 36–8); 6 lines missing at top; intercolumnar margin is 2.0–2.3 cm.

- 1 Trace only at beginning, possibly *κ* of *καί* or *ν* of *κρήνη*.
 4 Trace only of paragraphus, by 1st hand (?).
 8 *τε καί* Pap., codd. plerique; *τε* om. *Π.*
 11 Paragraphus by 1st hand.
 12 ff. 11–12 lines lost between frr. 15 and 19.

Fr. 19 col. ii + 68 (414 C 2. 39–40); c. 12 lines missing between end of previous fragment and beginning of this; fr. 68 provides 21]*ων*[, 22]*ησα*[, and 2.5 cm. of lower margin (its placing here could be doubted, since it does not join exactly, and its letters could be found in the same relative positions at 20 other places in Book IX, according to the computer search; but the verso fibres match well, and rough calculation from the end of frr. 14 ii + 15 i shows that a column-foot is expected hereabouts).

- 3 Middle stop by 1st hand (?).
 4 *ἐτέροις* Pap., codd. plerique; *ἐτέραν* acghi.
 5–6 *συνέμεινε* Pap., codd. plerique; *ἔμεινε Π.*
 13 Paragraphus by 2nd hand.
 15 Circumflex by 2nd hand, to distinguish *τοῦ τῶν* from *τούτων*.
 17–18 *Βοιωτιακοῦ* Pap., codd. plerique; *Βοιωτικοῦ* Bl.
 18 Paragraphus by 2nd hand.
 19 *Μινύειον* Pap., Tzsch. ex *Il.* ii 511; *Μινύιον* A (*Μινυήιον* 2nd hand, suppl.); *Μινυήιον* BEI.

Fr. 20 (414 C 2. 40); c. 16 lines missing between fr. 19 and fr. 20.
 2 Paragraphus by 2nd hand (?).

- Fr. 21 (422 C 3. 11)
 1 Final *ν* cancelled by 2nd hand with an oblique stroke and a suprascript dot.
 2 Filler mark by 1st hand.
 3 *σωματοειδῆ* Pap., codd. plerique; *σωματοειδῶς* a (in sched. aggl.) cghino.

Frr. 22 + 62 + 99 + 100 (422 C 3. 12); c. 14 lines missing between end of fr. 21 and this fr.

1–4 ... ἢ νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Πυθιάδα πέμπουσι· γενόμενον δὲ κατὰ Πανοπέας Τιτυὸν καταλύσαι, ἔχοντα κτλ
 MSS. In 1 *πε]μπ[ο]νσι* might be read, though the end is a little cramped; then space allows [*γενο|μενο]ν*
δε κατα [Πανοπεας|κατα]λυσαι; after that, it seems, matter not in the MSS. (presumably including the
 name of Tityos). These uncertainties might be avoided by finding another placing for fr. 100. But the
 join, though small (in 6, where fr. 22 provides the right-hand extremity of the base of *δ* and the lower
 part of the vertical of *ρ*), is physically quite plausible, and almost guaranteed by the placing of fr. 62,
 which provides most of 5 (*το)ντ* and 6 *ακ* and so fills the gap between fr. 100 and fr. 22. Equally, the
 join between fr. 100 and fr. 99 looks very likely.

Frr. 26–8 (427 C 4. 10); 2.5 cm. of left-hand margin intact.

- 2 Middle stop by 1st hand.
 5 Middle stop by 1st hand; ὕλλον Pap., codd. plerique; ὕλον Bk.
 5–6 *εἰσποιήσαντο* Pap.; *εἰσποιήσατο* MSS.: the papyrus is clearly in error.
 10 A small angular superscript mark before initial *π*, by 1st hand; perhaps an *α*; a vertical line through
 the following *ο*, also by 1st hand, may be corr. of *ι* to *ο*; i.e. *ε]πιγονοι* was altered to *[[ε]]|α'π[[ι]ογονοι?*
 12 Diaeresis by 1st hand.
 14 *ε* corr. (from *κ*?) by 1st hand.
 14–15 *ἀξιώμασι*[*ν*] Pap.; *ἀξιώματι* MSS.; the papyrus is in error.

Fr. 29 (428C 4. 12-13); c. 46 lines missing between end of fr. 26-8 and this fr.

2 Paragraphus by 1st hand.

4-6 . . . Θερμοπύλας. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ θερμὰ πλησίον ὕδατα κτλ MSS. In Pap. there is room for c. 5 letters at the end of 4; and the first letter of 5, though broken, is certainly delta. Perhaps (4) ἔστι (5) δ[ε καὶ θερμὰ πλησίον].

Fr. 30 (429C 5. 1)

1 Παρνασσῶ· καλείσθω Pap.: the only possible articulation. It follows that the papyrus had *συνάπτοντα* before τῶ Παρνασσῶ. τοῖς Δωριεῦσι *συνάπτοντα* τοῖς ἐξ ἑρινείου καὶ τῶ Παρνασσῶ Π; τοῖς Δωριεῦσι καὶ τῶ Παρνασσῶ *συνάπτοντα* cett.

3 Final nu cancelled by 2nd hand with an oblique stroke and suprascript dot.

4 Middle stop by 2nd hand (?).

Fr. 31 + 32 (435-436C 5. 14-15); 0.5 cm. of top margin intact (fr. 31); 0.8 cm. of left hand margin intact (fr. 32).

2 Accent and breathing by 2nd hand; filler mark by 1st hand. νηρία Pap.?: νηρίδια Bklno; νηρία cett. The reading of Bklno is not completely excluded by line length.

7 ff. . . . καταλέγει, τὴν συνεχῆ παραλίαν ἔπεστιν (ἦπερ ἔστιν Tzschucke) ἤδη Μαγνησίας (Μαγνη. . . . A: Μαγνητικῆς η (e corr.), ο, ρ) καὶ τῆς Πελαγονίτιδος γῆς MSS.: τὴν κτλ om. Pleth.; ἔπεστιν κτλ om. I (haud dubie et B). The papyrus had *Μαγνήτων* and not *Μαγνησίας*. It also had a different word-order; for if we restore the MSS. text (as corrected by Tzschucke) here, line 9 will be too long and line 10 too short. One possible arrangement would be as follows:

πα]ραλι
αν ηπερ ηδη μαγ]νητων
εστι και της πελ]ασι

Fr. 33 (436C 5. 15): c. 9 lines (160 letters) missing between end of fr. 32 and this fragment.

Fr. 34-36 (436-437C 5. 16): 1.8 cm. of top margin intact on fr. 34.

Fr. 37 (437C 5. 17)

1-2 [μέχρι τῆς] κάτω Θετταλίας MSS. (om. bkno), the lacuna supplied by Corais. The spacing in Pap. suits this.

3 High stop by 2nd hand. The high stop is similarly used to mark the beginning of a quotation at fr. 14 i 9.

Fr. 38 (437C 5. 17). There are only 7 or 8 lines missing between the end of fr. 37 and the beginning of fr. 38.

6 Ἐστι[αίων Pap.: Ἰστιαίων (-αίων BE) MSS.

9 κ[α]: ταύτη[ν καὶ Pap.: καὶ [c. 8] MSS., αὐτὴν καὶ suppl. Du Theil.

11 ff. ἐπ' εὐθείας οὐσα[c.6] Μακεδονία, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν κάτω τῆ κάτω MSS., οὐσα[ν τῆ ἄνω] suppl. Du Theil. The space in Pap. would accommodate this text, but the actual distribution is not certain, since the reading of the initial traces in 11 and 12 is by no means secure.

Fr. 39 (438C 5. 17); c. 27 lines missing between the end of fr. 38 and the beginning of fr. 39.

1 ff. . . . φησὶν ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις τὰς Ἀφροδίτας - ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία - τὴν Καστινήτην (δ' add. Acghino) ὑπερβάλλεσθαι πάσας τῶ φρονεῖν MSS. The papyrus has space for another 7-11 letters after *μία*; otherwise the surviving letters are consistent with the MSS. text. Strabo is quoting Callimachus (fr. 200a Pf), the first line word for word (τὰς Ἀφροδίτας - μία), the rest (according to the usual assumption) in a paraphrase which takes over some of the wording of the original. The scribe might have left a short blank after the first line, as he does after the first hexameter at fr. 14 i 28, but hardly a blank of this length (in general, he treats quotations as a continuous part of the text, and leaves it to the second hand to separate them off by high and middle stops). We may therefore assume that what is missing in line 3 is a word or words which do not occur in the MSS. It is difficult to determine whether the missing word(s) formed part of the Callimachean quotation, or of Strabo's paraphrase, or whether their existence is due simply to an erroneous repetition by the scribe. The latter explanation may be the most probable (the scribe is in error at the beginning of line 4, and the repetition of the words οὐ μίαν Ἀφροδίτην and καὶ πλείους within

the space of a few lines makes the probability of error by homoeography very high); but the other possibility cannot be dismissed completely, and any future reconstruction of Callimachus' poem from Strabo's text will have to take account of this additional hazard.

4 Iota cancelled and superscript sigma added by 2nd hand. *Κασπνιήτιν* Pap.: *Κασπνιήτιν* MSS. The pi, as well as the iota, may have been caused by the scribe's eye reverting to *καὶ πλείους* just above or just below. The probability of error is high with an unusual word like this and there is no reason to believe that Pap. has a genuine variant spelling. All authorities for the name and its cognates agree in spelling it with a tau: *Diegesis* ix. 1 (Callimachus, fr. 200 a Pfeiffer); Lycophron, *Alexandra* 403 (and scholl. *ad. loc.*); 1234; Steph. Byz., s.v. *Κάστιον*.

8 *καὶ πολυίστωρ* Pap.: *καὶ μὴν π.* MSS. Line 7, as it stands, is rather short (15 letters); the scribe may well have had *ὁ δὲ καὶ π. οἱ καὶ δὴ καὶ π.*

Frr. 40+41 (438C 5. 17); c. 24 lines missing between the end of fr. 39 and the beginning of these fragments.

3 *Θετταλιώτιδι* Pap., MSS.: *Θετταλίᾳ* Eustath. *ad Il.* B̄ 755: *Πελαγιώτιδι* conl. Pletho, Corais.

5 Nu and tau both crossed with a horizontal stroke; probably a *lapsus pennae* rather than a correction.

9 Final nu cancelled (with oblique stroke and suprascript dot) by 2nd hand.

9-11 *καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ μετονομάζουσι* Pap.: *καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ καὶ μετονομάζουσι* codd. plerique: *καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ καὶ μετονομάζουσι Π.* The version of Π must be right, as the cross-reference to VIII 3. 6 shows (only the Arcadian Oechalia has another name); the version of the other MSS. represents a simple parablepsy; that of Pap. is still worse (sense requires at the least the *καί* before *μετονομάζουσι*).

11 *ἄλλως ὡς* Pap.: *ὡς Π*: *ἄλλως ὁ καὶ* (ὄ om. A (add. 2nd hand) lgi) codd. cett.: *<ἄλλοι> ἄλλως* conl. Corais. The spacing does not allow *ἄλλως ως* | [*καὶ ἐν τοῖς κτλ.*]

Fr. 42 (438C 5. 17); 1.0 cm. of top margin intact; c. 5 lines missing at foot of previous column, between end of fr. 40 and 41 and beginning of this fragment.

1 *μὲν δὴ* Pap., codd. plerique: *μὲν οὖν Π.*

Fr. 43 (438C 5. 18); 3.0 cm. of top margin intact.

1 High stop by 1st hand (?).

Fr. 45 (441C 5. 20)

3 Middle stop by 2nd hand.

Frr. 46-8 (443C 5. 22)

5 Filler mark by 1st hand.

9 Diaeresis by 1st hand. *ἴπν*[Pap.: *Ἰπνοῦν* codd. pler. (*Ἰπνοῦντα* B e corr., *Ἰπνοῦντα* c(?)kno), *Ἰπνοῦς* conl. Kramer, Meineke (ex Herod. vii 188): *Ἰπνοῦν* Im (*Ἰπνοῦντα* ald.).

10 *τῶν περὶ* Pap., codd. plerique: *τῶν* om. BEkl (*παρὰ* E). *τό* om. BEkl: the spacing suggests (but does not prove) that it was present in Pap.

12 Damaged stop rather than rough breathing.

Fr. 49 (443C 5. 22); c. 31 lines lost between the end of fr. 48 and the beginning of this fragment.

1 *μαντεως*] *τῶν* Pap., as MSS.: *Μαντοῦς τῆς* conl. Kuhn, rightly.

5]ψ corr. from a rounded letter?

Μόψος Pap., codd. plerique: *Μόψοπος* no, Epit.

Frr. 50-2 (444C 5. 23); c. 15 lines missing between fr. 49 and these frr.

1 Paragraphus by 1st hand.

5 Middle stop by 2nd hand (?).

6 *ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ* Pap., codd. plerique: *τοῦ* om. cgh.

Possible identifications

Fr. 53 (400C 2. 2?)

1 Kappa, trace only of upright.

- 2 Delta, right-hand corner only of a letter. Chi, upsilon might perhaps be read instead.
3 Sigma, top only of a rounded letter.

Fr. 54 (435C 5. 14?): c. 30 lines missing between end of this fr. and fr. 34 (435C 5. 14) so that, if correctly placed, this fr. will have come from near the head of the preceding column.

- 3 This line, with 21 letters, is disproportionately long.

Fr. 70 (437C 5. 16?): c. 7 lines missing between bottom of fr. 36 and this fr.; line length is good throughout.

- 1 Bottom only of letter; alpha rather than kappa or chi.
3 Nu, a slight trace of diagonal descending from the hasta.
4 Eta, an upright stroke only; iota is also possible.

Fr. 57 (442C 5. 22?): line length is rather long, with 22 and 21 letters respectively.

- 1 Nu, first upright only.
2 Eta, trace only of upright.

Unplaced fragments

Fr. 58: 0.8 cm. of top margin intact.

2 Diaeresis by 1st hand. 394C 1. 10, ἀμφὶ δ' Ἄ]θ[ηναῖοι, μήετωρες ἀ]ῦ[τῆς (Il. 4. 328) may be possible, though line length is short (16 letters).

Fr. 59: 0.7 cm. blank at top, but partly stripped, so that it cannot be proved to be the top of a column.

1 Epsilon broken but secure; after nu a slight trace only, perhaps of a middle stop or the end of a crossbar.

- 2 A small bowl only, suggesting rho rather than epsilon.

Frr. 60 and 61: 1.1 cm. of top margin intact (fr. 60); join between frr. (between lines 2 and 3) is not entirely sure.

2 First letter part of a crossbar only, either gamma, pi or tau; after alpha, a hasta with serif at top and foot, possibly nu.

- 3 After nu, a serif only, a little below line; perhaps a rho or upsilon.

4 Corner of an upright followed by part of a bowl, perhaps of a rho; then a hasta with serif, perhaps nu, a lacuna, and a hasta with serif coming well below the line, either a phi or psi.

- 5 Traces of tops of letters only.

Fr. 63: 1.9 cm. of top margin intact.

- 1 Second letter nu rather than alpha.
2 First letter, trace of upright; last, sigma rather than epsilon or omicron.

Fr. 64: 1.0 cm. of bottom margin intact.

- 1 Trace only of bottom of rounded letter (?).
2 Last letter may be omicron rather than sigma, perhaps remains of rough breathing above epsilon, i.e. ὑφ' ἐνόσ.

Fr. 65: 0.6 cm. of bottom margin (?) intact.

- 1 Trace only.
2 Pi possible instead of tau, as also iota or rho followed by gamma.
2-3 The computer found no suitable combination of these letters in Book IX or Book X.

Fr. 66: 0.9 cm. of bottom margin intact. The computer located 9 positions in Book IX where these letters occur:

393C 1. 7: εὐανδρούσης δὲ τῆς Ἀπτικῆς διὰ τοὺς φυγάδας.

399C 1. 23: τῆς μεταλλείας ἀσθενῶς ὑπακουούσης.

406C 2. 16: ὑπάντρου δὲ καὶ σφραγγώδους οὔσης . . . τῆς γῆς.

420C 3. 7: τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς εὐκαιρίας οὔσης τῆσπερὶ τοὺς Δελοφούς.

420 C 3. 7: δις κατ' ἔτος οὐσης τῆς συνόδου.

430 C 5. 2: τῆς παραλίας μετεωρότερα τῶν πεδίων ἐχούσης.

439 C 5. 18: τῇ Φεραίων πόλει Εὐμήλου οὐση.

441 C 5. 20: τῆς Βοιβηίδος μόνον πολὺ ἐλάττονος οὐσης.

441 C 5. 20: ταύτης δὲ μόνης μενούσης.

In none of these positions would fr. 66 be directly related to any of the other frr.

Fr. 67: 0.8 cm. of bottom margin intact.

1 First letter, an upright; perhaps iota, or second hasta of nu.

2 Of epsilon only the right-hand part of the cross-bar and lower curve, but epsilon iota better than eta. End: upright, or left side of round letter.

Fr. 69: 0.7 cm. of left hand margin intact.

2 Pi might possibly be read as iota tau, although right extremity of crossbar is very short.

3 Traces only, the first of a rounded letter, on a separate scrap doubtfully joined here.

Fr. 71: 0.5 cm. of right-hand margin intact.

1 Before eta the trace of a crossbar; gamma, pi or tau possible.

2 First letter possibly alpha, although delta, kappa or lambda are also possibilities; filler mark by 1st hand.

3 First letter, trace of a crossbar only.

4 First letter, a trace of a horizontal fairly high up; sigma or tau would be possible; last, lambda rather than mu or nu.

5 Trace only; filler mark by 1st hand.

Fr. 72: 0.4 cm. of right-hand margin intact; a computer search for the sequence ονκαλ (6-16 letters) τοςστωα produced nothing.

1 Trace only of a horizontal stroke.

2 First letter possibly pi rather than tau; penultimate possibly tau epsilon (or even pi) rather than tau omicron.

Fr. 73

1 Trace only of delta; trace only after epsilon.

2 After kappa, top corner of alpha, lambda, or upsilon.

3 Iota or nu after omicron.

Fr. 74: a computer search for the sequence δο (8-18) οω (8-18) τσπ (8-18) ους produced nothing.

2 Nu rather than eta.

3 First letter, pi also possible; last, tau followed by part of epsilon also possible.

4 Trace only of omicron; last, delta rather than alpha.

Fr. 75

1 Second letter, part of an upright.

3 First letter, a horizontal stroke, perhaps part of crossbar of gamma, pi or tau; last, corner only of rounded letter.

4 Letter broken but fairly secure; gamma or pi not excluded?

Fr. 76

1 First letter, part of a slightly curving horizontal stroke, high up; tau is a possibility; last, part of an upright, possibly iota.

2 Last letter, lambda rather than delta or alpha, although these letters cannot be excluded.

Fr. 77

2 Trace of part of an upright after epsilon.

3 Tops of letters only.

Fr. 78

- 1 First letter, perhaps part of an upright, alternatively the edge of a kappa.
- 2 Small trace only before nu, at top, perhaps corner of sigma or epsilon.
- 3 Small trace after iota, on line, corner of alpha, delta, lambda, mu, or rho.

Fr. 79

- 2 Last letter, part of an upright; nu rather than iota.
- 4 Top of letter only; alpha, delta or lambda?

Fr. 80

- 1 After alpha, bottoms of letters only.
- 2 First letter, trace only, although tau might be read instead of this trace followed by sigma; superscript omicron in 2nd hand (?); a stroke or mark by 1st hand between eta and tau may be a middle stop or an iota added between the letters.

Fr. 81

- 1 Pi possible instead of tau in both cases.

Fr. 82

- 1 First, bottom corner of a rounded letter.
- 2 Trace only before eta, perhaps a diagonal; last, part of a rounded letter.

Fr. 83

- 1 Epsilon also possible instead of sigma; after it, the corner of a diagonal stroke.

Fr. 84

- 2 After iota, a trace of ink that might be a middle stop, followed by part of a rounded letter.
- 3 Upright and serif only of rho; iota cannot be completely excluded.

Fr. 85

- 1 First letter, right side of o or ω ; end, left side of o or ω .
- 2 After omicron, part of a horizontal stroke, possibly pi or tau.

Fr. 86

- 4 Part of a crossbar, followed by top of an upright stroke.
- 5 Last letter, the upper corner of a diagonal stroke, possibly chi or upsilon.
- 6 Tops of letters only.

Fr. 87

- 3 Corner of nu, or top of iota, eta, kappa, phi or psi.

Fr. 88

- 2 Superscript iota by 1st hand.

Fr. 89

- 2 Diaeresis by 1st hand.

Fr. 90: large lettering, as 88, although there is no join between the two pieces.

Fr. 91

- 1 End, seriffed foot of upright.
- 2 Tops of letters only; neither is sure.

Fr. 92

- 3 After sigma, the corner of a diagonal, perhaps alpha.

Fr. 93

- 1 Alpha likely but not completely secure.
- 2 First letter, part of upright; eta or nu also possible; last, part of upright.

Fr. 94

2 Trace only before tau; part of an upright letter.

Fr. 95

2 Omicron better than omega.

Fr. 96

2 Second letter may be eta rather than nu.

Fr. 97

2 Second letter, part of an upright with trace of a small horizontal stroke across it; possibly another eta.

3 Tops of letters only; alpha not certain; first and last, parts of upright strokes.

Fr. 98

1 Bottoms of letters only; first, trace only; then the feet of three upright letters, the first two with serifs.

2 Dotted letters badly rubbed;]πι<του[perhaps possible.

3 First letter, part of a crossbar ligatured to epsilon, possibly from a gamma or tau, after pi, tops of letters only.

Fr. 101

1 After nu, traces of an upright; eta or iota possible.

Fr. 102: the letters on this piece are drawn much more heavily than any elsewhere; it may be that this fr. does not come from this text.

1 Bottoms of letters only; middle letter, part of an upright.

3 Theta preferable to epsilon.

Fr. 103

1 First, right side of omicron or omega?

3448. THUCYDIDES i 40

36 4B.99/G (1-4)b

2.5 × 10.5 cm.

Second/third century

A fragment from the lower part of a column, with 3 cm. of margin intact at the foot. The back is blank. The hand is an example of a common angular type ('Severe Style'), of medium size and inclining slightly to the right. Comparable are XIII 1608 (Aeschines Socraticus), dated to the later second century by Grenfell and Hunt; and XIX 2208 (Callimachus), dated to the third century by Lobel. No lectional signs are visible, except a high stop in 6. This stop, and the interlinear corrections, are probably the work of a second hand.

There is the possibility, as E. G. Turner points out, that the main hand of **3448** is the same as that of PSI XI 1195, which contains Thuc. i 71-3. The general similarity is clear; and the differences in a few particular letter-forms could be explained in terms of a more pliant reed, or the scribe relaxing more into his style. (Thus in PSI 1195 alpha is made more loosely, whereas in **3448** its angle is so tight that the two left-hand diagonals sometimes appear to coalesce; delta is apparently made in two strokes, with the left side and base in one piece, whereas in **3448** it is certainly made in three strokes; lambda tends to be seriffed and to have a slight inward curve on the longer diagonal, whereas at **3448** line 9 it lacks any serif and its longer diagonal curves outwards; tau

usually begins with a serif on the horizontal, which rises slightly, cutting the top of the vertical, in contrast to 3448, where the serif is missing and the crossbar goes level and does not touch the vertical at all.) But, if it is plausible to ascribe both papyri to the same copyist, it is not plausible to ascribe both to the same roll, because of the line-lengths. In 3448 the lines have 17 to 21 letters; in PSI 1195 they have on average 25 or 26 (sometimes as many as 28), too large a variation to be likely within a single copy.

Collated with Hude's *editio maior* (1898) and Luschkat's Teubner text (1960²). The papyrus offers three variants of little worth, including a radical and inexplicable departure from the received text in the last two lines.

.

	ουδε γαρ η]μεις απ[οσαν	i 40. 5
	]. προσε[θεμεθα	
	εναντιαν υ]μιν των [αλλων	
	πελοπον]νησιω[ν διχα	
5	ε]ψηφικ]μενων ει χ[ρη αυ	
	τοις αμ]ννειν· φαγ[ερωσ δε	
	αντει]πομεν του[ς προση	
	κοντας] ξυμμαχου[ς αυτον	
	τινα κ]ολαζειν .[	i 40. 6
10	κακον τι] δρωντας δε[εχο	
	μενοι τιμ]ωρησεται .[
	] υμετερω...[
	] ε... [
	]ν αδυνατ .[
	]ημε[] .[

1 ff. Neither left nor right margin survives, so that the division of text between lines is to some extent conjectural.

1-2 ἡμεῖς Καμίων ἀποστάντων ψήφον προσεθέμεθα MSS. The papyrus apparently omitted Καμίων (or wrote it after ἀποστάντων, omitting ψήφον).

2] . : apparently a cancelled rho (the loop only, with a dash through it).

6 The high stop was perhaps added later, since it stands above the second vertical of nu, not between the letters.

9 κολάζειν· εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακόν τι δρώντας MSS. It may be that the last traces can be read as εἰγ[(epsilon added later) or as [ἰ]γ (a fine oblique line crossing the upright might be a crossing-out). A single upright (iota) is at least clear; low traces following might be part of another upright. But the suprascript letter(s) are anomalous, and some of the ink would be more easily explained as a diaeresis on iota.

10]δρω: rho written over an omega.

11 τιμ]ωρησεται: τιμωρήσετε MSS., rightly. An error due probably to phonetic confusion (αι = ε). Final trace vestigial.

11-13 ... τιμωρήσετε, φανείται και ἃ τῶν ὑμετέρων οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἡμῖν πρόσει κτλ MSS. The corrector apparently restored this text in the papyrus: in his first line *υμετερω* is clear, then *ου*[κ possible; in the second line (damaged, and tangled with the letters of the main text), *ελασσω* is not excluded. But what did the original scribe write? The simplest guess is *φ[ανει]ται και α τω]ν αδυνατω[ν ου]κ ελασσω] ημε[ι]ν*. But I cannot explain why *αδυνάτων* should have replaced *ὑμετέρων*; and the corrector need not have written out three words, if only one was different.

13 Perhaps *ημε[ι]ν*, but the final trace is rather low to represent the left apex of *ν*.

3449. THUCYDIDES i 42

36 4B. 99/F (1-4)b

Fr. 1 3.5 × 8.5 cm.

Third century

Fr. 2 2.5 × 6.4 cm.

Two fragments, from the middle and foot of a column; fr. 2 has 4.5 cm. of the lower margin intact, and a trace of the left-hand margin. About 7 lines (150 letters) are lost between the two fragments, giving a column-height of at least 23 lines. The back is blank. The writing is of the 'Severe' style, with a general slope to the right. The scribe wrote with an eye to speed rather than accuracy or appearance; alpha is sometimes made in one movement, with a loop at the apex; epsilon and tau are often ligatured to the following letter; at fr. 1. 12 nu was corrected to phi by simple overwriting. Compare e.g. P. Berol. 9968 (Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* II no. 32); and the upright version in VII 1016 (Roberts, *GLH* 20a), which can be dated to the third century.¹ Iota adscript was not written in the one word which required it, fr. 1. 12. There is no punctuation. A second hand, semi-cursive and using a lighter ink, has made several corrections and additions to the text.

Collated with Hude's *editio maior* (1898) and Luschnat's Teubner text (1960²). The papyrus offers nothing of textual interest except a unique variant at fr. 1. 4.

Fr. 1

αξιο]υτω [τοις ομοιοις ημας

i 41. 1-2

αμυν]εσθαι [και μη νομιση

]α μεν τὰ ε

δικα]ι[ον] λεγεςθαι[ι ξυμ

]για ει

φορα] δε[[ι]] πολεμ[ησει αλλα

5

ειναι] το τε γαρ ξυ[μφερον

εν ω αν] τις ελαχιστα [αμαρ

τανη] μαλιστα επε[ται και το μελ

λον] του πολεμο[υ ω φοβουν

τες υ]μας κερκυ[ραιοι κελευ

¹ After A.D. 235: L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 1 ff.

10 ουσιw] ἀδικεiω [εw αφανει ε
 τι κει]ται και ουκ α[ξιον επαρ
 θεwτα]c αυτω[[v]] φανερ[αν εχθραν
 ηδη κ]αι ου μελλουc[αν προς
].[.] [

Fr. 2

.
 να]υτ[ικο]υ [ξυμμαχίαν i 42. 4
]. . α[]δ[
 εφέλκεc[θαι το γαρ μη αδικεiω

FR. 1. The margins are lost; so that the distribution of words between lines is only *exempli gratia*.

3-4 First hand	δικα]iον λεγεcθαι [i ξυμ|φορα] δ ει πολεμ[ησει
Corrector	δικα]ια μειγ ταδ[ε] λεγεcθαι [i ξυμ|φερο]ντα δε ει πολεμ[ησει
MSS.	δίκαια μὲν τάδε λέγεσθαι, ξύμφορα δέ, εἰ πολεμήσει.

The original scribe's *δίκαιον* represents an obvious simplification of what Thucydides wrote; he may perhaps even have offered *ξύμφορον* or *ξυμφέρον* instead of *ξύμφορα*. The corrector emended *δικαῖον* accurately, as well as expanding *δ ει*. But he went on to change *ξύμφορα* (if that is what the first hand wrote) to *ξυμφέροντα*, presumably under the influence of *ξυμφέρον* in the next sentence. Thucydides normally uses *ξυμφέροντα* only with the article; but cf. i 124 ταῦτα ξυμφέροντα... εἶναι.

Fr. 2

1-2 MSS. . . ναυτικοῦ ξυμμαχίαν μεγάλην διδούσι, τούτω ἐφέλκεσθαι. In 2 perhaps read *μ]εγα[λην] δ[ιδουαι] τούτω*. This suits the space; but epsilon looks anomalous (altered), and there is unexplained ink (as if a suprascript letter) above the vestigial gamma.

3 Strip of papyrus at left with traces of epsilon but no other traces: left-hand margin?

3450. THUCYDIDES i 99-105, 116-17, 120

39 5B.117/E (3-4)b

Fr. A 12·5 × 31·0 cm.

Third century

These fragments come from the same papyrus codex as P. Gen. 2 and P. Ryl. III 548 (Pack² 1511), which contain Thucydides ii 2-5, 13 and 15. The codex had two columns to the page,¹ each column of c. 55 lines and each line of 14-21 letters; upper margin at least 2·5 cm., intercolumnium c. 1 cm. The original dimensions of the page must have been c. 16-18 × 34 cm., of the column c. 5·7 × 27·5 cm. Fr. A contains the middle of one leaf to full height, with a heavy *kollesis* about half-way across; its pages are numbered in the upper margin, perhaps as '39' and '40'. Frr.

¹ On such codices, see E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* 36 (where P. Gen. 2 + P. Ryl. 548 = item 272; 3450 = item 279a).

B and C, which are shown by their content to be adjacent, belong to a second leaf, perhaps originally conjugate with the first. These new pieces represent the later part of Book i, the older pieces have the beginning of ii; the whole of Thucydides, in this format, would occupy c. 427 pages or 214 leaves. The hand is a rapid unpretentious example of the 'Mixed' or 'Severe' style, to be assigned to the third century; some abbreviated forms of the 'grammarian' type, familiar from commentaries, are found at line-ends (A ↓ i 32, → i 11, 12, 25, 28), as well as the common writing of nu as a suprascript stroke. Punctuation by paragraphus, forked paragraphus, high and middle stops; no other lectional signs. The paragraphus often coincides with the modern paragraph-division. There are occasional corrections and additions, some perhaps by the original hand, two at least (A ↓ i 32, 44) by a coarser pen.

This papyrus was first published in *BICS* 22 (1975), 65 ff., where the reader will find a fuller description and assessment. The text printed below results from a recollection of the original; the changes are for the most part trivial, but a few have textual importance (A ↓ i 1, 38, 45, ii 15 f.; A → i 38 f., ii 17, 43, 50). Collation with the *editio maior* of Hude (1898). The papyrus is badly rubbed in places, so that dotted letters are more than usually dubious; photographs in *BICS loc.cit.* pls. I-III.

Fr. A ↓

col. i

99. 3 1 τω[ν] στρατ[ειων οι πλει]ους
 αυτων ι[να μη απ οι]κω.
 ωσ[ι]ν· χρ[ημ]ατα εταξαν
 το αντι των νεων το ι
 5 κ[ν]ουμενον αναλω
 μα φερειν] και τ[ο]ις με[ν]
 Αθηναι]οις ηυξ[ε]το [το]
 ναυτι]κον [α] π'ο της [δ]απα
 νης ην εκει]νοι ξυμφε
 10 ροιεν αυτοι δε οπο[τ]ε απο
 σταιεν α]πα[ρ]ακτενοι και
 απειροι] ε[σ]τον [π]ολεμο[ν]
 100. 1 κ]αθιςτα[ντο] εγενετο
 δε με[ε]τα τα[υτα και η επ]ι Ευ
 15 ρ]υμεδον[τι ποταμωι
 εν Παμ]φυλι[αι πεζομαχια
 και ν]αυμα[χια Αθηναιω(ν)]

- και τω]ν ξ[υμμαχων
 προς Μ[ηδους και ενικων
 20 τη]ι [αυτηι ημεραι αμφοτερα
 Αθην]αι[οι Κιμωνος του
 Μιλτιαδου σ]τ[ρ]ατη
 γουν]το[σ και ειλον τρι
 ηρεισ Φ]ο[ι]ν[ικων κα]ι δι[εφθει
 25 ραν τ]ασ π[ασας ε]σ διακο
 100. 2 ριασ] χρ[ο]ν[ωι δ]ε υ[σ]τ[ε]ρ[ο]ν
 ξυνεβη Θ]α[σιουσ] αυ[των
 αποστηναι διενεχθε]ν
 τασ περ[ι] των [εν τηι] αν
 30 τιπ]ερασ Θρα[ικηι ε]μπο
 ριω]ν κ[α]ι [τ]ορ μ[εταλλ]ου
 α εν]εμοντο κ[α]ι [να]νυσι μ[εν
 επι Θασ]ον πλ[ε]υ[σ]αν]τες
 οι Αθ]ηναι[οι] ναυ[μ]αχιαι
 35 εκρα]τη[σ]αν και ε[σ] την γη(ν)
 100. 3 απεβ]ησαν· επι δε Στρυ
 μονα π[ε]μψαντες μν
 ριο]υσ οικ[η]τορας ξαντω(ν)
 και] των [ξυμμαχων υ
 40 πο] τους αυ[το]υσ χρ[ο]νο]υσ
 ως οικ[ειου]ντ[ε]σ τασ το
 τε καλουμεν]ασ [Εννεα
 οδουσ ν]υν δε Αμφι
 πολι]ν των μεν [Ενν]ε
 [].[.].υ...
 45 α ο]δων εκρ[ατ]η[σ]αν ασ
 ειχον Ηδων[οι προ]εληθο(ν)
 τες δε τ[ησ] Θ]ρακησ εσ με
 σογεια[ν δι]εφθ[α]ρησαν
 εν . Δ[ραβησ]κω[ι τηι] Ηδω
 50 νι[κηι υπο των Θρ]αικω(ν)
 ξυμπαντ[ω]ν οισ πολ[ε]

101. 1

μ]ιον η[ν το χωρι]ον αι [Εν
 ν]εα οδ[οι κτιζο]μ[ενο(ν)
 Θ]ασιο[ι δε νικηθε]ν[τες
 55 μ]αχ[ηι και πολιορκουμε

col. ii

101. 2

1 νοι Λακ[εδαιμονιους ε
 πεκαλ[ουντο και επα
 μνησ[ι εκελευον εσβα
 λοντ[ας ες την Αττικην
 5 οι δε υ[πεσχοντο μεν
 κρυφ[α των Αθηναιων
 και εμ[ελλον διεκωλυ
 θησ[αν δε υπο του γενο
 μεν]ου σεισμου εν ωι και
 10 οι Ειλ[ωτες αυτοις και των
 περι[οικων Θουριαται τε
 και Α[ιθαιης ες Ιθωμην
 απε[στησαν πλειστοι δε
 των [Ειλωτων εγενον
 15 τ]ο [ο]ι [. .]. ε. [δουλω
 θεντω]ν απογονοι ηι και
 Μ]εσ[σηνιοι εκληθησαν οι
 παν]τες] π[ρος μεν ουν
 20 τ]ου[ς ε]ν Ι[θωμηι πολε
 μος καθ[ειστηκει Λακε
 δαιμ]ο[νι]οις Θασιοι δε τρι
 τ]ωι ετ[ε]ι πολιορκουμε
 ν]οι [ωμολογησαν Αθη
 25 ν]αιοις τ[ειχος τε καθελον
 τες και ν]αυς παραδον
 τες χρη[ματα τε οσα εδει
 απ[οδουναι αυτικα ταξα
 με]νοι και το λοιπον φε

- 30 ρε[ιν την τε ηπειρον και
 τ[ο μεταλλον αφεντες
 102. 1 / Λα[κεδαιμονιοι δε ως αυ
 τ[οις προς τους εν Ιθω
 μηι [εμηκυνετο ο πο
 35 λεμος α[λλους τε επε
 καλεσα[ντο ξυμμαχους
 και Αθη[να]ι[ους οι δ ηλ
 θον Κιμων[ος στρατη
 γουντ[ος πληθει ουκ ο
 102. 2 40 λιγωι· μ[αλιστα δ αυτους
 επεκα[λεσαντο οτι τει
 χομαχ[ειν εδοκουν δυ
 νατοι [ειναι τοις δε πο
 / λιορκια[ς μακρας καθες
 45 τηκνι[ας τουτου ενδεα
 εφαινε[το βιαι γαρ αν ει
 102. 3 λον το χ[ωριον και δια
 φορα εκ τ[αυτης της στρα
 τειας πρω[τον Λακεδαι
 50 μ]οργιοις [και Αθηναιοις

Fr. A →

col. i

102. 3 1 των Αθηναιων τ[ο] τολμη
 ρον και την νε]ωτερ[ο
 ποιαν και αλ]λοφυλους
 αμα ηγησαμ]ενοι μη
 5 τι ην παραμε]ινωσιν
 υπο των εν Ιθ]ωμη πει
 σθεντες νεωτε]ριωσιν
 μονους των ξ]υμμα
 χων απεπεμ]ψαν τη(ν)

102. 4
- 10 μέν υποψίαν] οὐ δὴ
 λουντες εἰπο]ντε[ς] δ(ε)
 ὅτι οὐδεν πρὸς]δεφ[ν]τ(αι)
 αυτων ετι οι δε]ε Αθη
 ναιοι εγνωσαν] ουκ ε
 15 πι τωι βελτιονι] λογωι
]μμ.[
 αλλα τινος] υποπτου γ[ε
 νομενου] και δειν[ο(ν)
 ποιησαμε]νοι και ουκ α
 20 ξιωσαντ]εξ υπο Λακε
 δαιμονιω]ν τουτο πα
 θειν ευθυς] επειδη α
 νεχωρησαν] αφεντες τη(ν)
 επι τωι Μηδωι γ]ενομε
 25 νην ξυμμα]χιαν πρ(ος)
 αυτους Αργει]οι.ς τοις εκει
 νων πολε]μοις ξυμ[μα
 χοι εγενο]ντ[ο] και πρ(ος)
 Θεσσαλους αμα αμ]φοτε
 30 ροις οι αυτοι ορκοι κ]αι
 ξυμμαχια κατεστ]η·
 103. 1
 οι δ εν Ιθωμη] δε]κα
 τωι ετει ως ουκετι] εδυ
 ναντο αντεχειν] ξυν
 35 εβησαν πρὸς τ]ους Λα
 κεδαιμονιο]υς εφ ω
 εξια]σιν εκ Π[ελοποννη
 σου] υποσπονδοι· και μη
 δεποτ]ε επιβη[ς]ονται
 103. 2
 40 αυτης ην δε] τις αλιςκ[ητ(αι)
 του λαβοντ]ος ειναι δ[ο]υ
 λον ην δε τι κ]αι χρηστ[η
 ριον τοις Λακε]δαιμο
 νιοις Πυθικο]ν προ[[ς].τ[ο]υ

- 45 τον ικετην] του Διός
 103. 3 του Ιθωμητα] αφιεναί
 [εξηλθον δε αυτοι και παι]
 δεσ και γυνα]ικ[ε]ς [και] α[υ]
 τους οι Αθ]ηναιοι δεξα
 50 μενοι κα]τα εχθος ηδη
 . . .
 col. ii
103. 4 1 ρε[ις Αθηναιοι]ς ες ξυμ
 μαχίαν Λακ]εδαιμο
 ν[ιων αποσ]ταντες οτι
 αυτ[ους] Κ[ορ]ινθιοι περι
 5 γης ορω[ν π]ολεμωι κα
 τει[χ]ο[ν και ε]σχ[ον Αθη
 να[ιοι] [Μ]εγ[αρα και Πη
 γας και [τα] μ[ακρα τειχη
 ωκοδο]μησαν Μεγαρευ
 10 ci τα α[πο της πολεως ες
 Νισαι]αν και ε]φ[ρουρουν
 αυτο[ι] και Κ]ορ[ινθιοι]ς μεν
 ουκ ηκι[ς]τα α[πο τουδε το
 ςφοδρον μ[ι]σος ηρξ[ατο
 15 πρω]τον ες Α[θη]να[ιους
 γιγν]εσθαι.] [.] Ιναρ[ωσ
 104. 1 δ[ε] ο Ψαμμ[η]τιχου β[ασι
 λευ[ς Λιβυων] τω[ν προς
 Αιγυ[π]τω[ι ορ]μω[μενος
 20 εκ Μ[α]ρει[α]ς [της υπερ Φα
 ρου πολεως απ]εστησεν
 Αιγυπτου τα [πλειω απο
 Αρταξερξου και [αυτος
 αρχων γενομ]ενος Α
 25 θηναιους επη]γαγετο
 104. 2 οι δε ετυχ[ο]ν [γ]αρ [ες Κυ
 προ]ν [στρατ]ευσο[μενοι

ναυσι δ[ιακοσιας
 αυτων τε και τ[ων ξυμ
 30 μαχων ηλθον [απολι
 π[ο]ντε[ς τη]ν Κ[υπρον
 και ανα[πλευ]σαν[τες α
 πο θαλασς[ης ες τον Νει
 λον του τε [πο]τα[μου
 35 κρατο[υντε]ς [και της
 Μ[ε]μφι[δος των δυο με
 ρων προ[ς το τριτον με
 ρος ο κ[α]λειται Λευκον
 τειχο[ς επολεμουν
 40 εν[ησαν δε αυτοθι Περ
 [σων και Μηδων οι κα]
 ταφυγ[ο]ντ[ες και Αιγυπτι
 ων ο]ι μ[η] απ[ο]σταν[τες
 [Αθηναιοις δε ναυ]
 45 σ]ιν [αποβασιν ες Αλιας
 προ[ς] Κορι[νθιους και [Ε
 πι[δα]υ[ριους μα]χ[η
 εγεγετ[ο και εν]ικω(ν)
 Κορινθι[οι και υστερ]ο(ν)
 50 Αθην[αιοις c. 5]ν εν[αυμα
 χησ[α]ν[]...[
].[]...[
]....[
]....[
 . . .

105. I

Fr. B →

col. i

116. I

ω]ν ησαν
 αι εικοσι στρατιωτ]ιδες· ετ[υ
 χον δε αι πασαι] απο Μιλη

- του πλεουσαι και ε]νικων
 116. 2 5 Αθηναιοι υστερο]ν δε αυ
 τοις εβοηθησαν] εκ των
 Αθηνων νηες τεσσ]αρα
 [κοντα και Χιων και Λε]
 [σβιων πεντε και εικο]
 10 [σι και αποβαντες και]
 Fr. C → κρατουν[τες τωι πεζωι επο
 λιορκουν [τρισι τειχεσι την
 πολιν· κα[ι εκ θαλασσης αμα
 116. 3 Περικλη]ς δε λαβων εξη
 15 κοντα[
 [
 τα]χος επ[ι Καυνου
 . . .
 col. ii
 . . .
 117. 3 λ[ωθεντα ταξαμενοι
 κα[τα χρονους αποδουναι
 ξυ]ν[εβησαν δε και Βυ
 ζαν]τιοι
 . . .
 Fr. B ↓
 col. i
 . . .
 118. 3 αυτο]ς εφη
 ξυλληψεσθαι κ]αι παρακα
 λουμενος και α]κλητ[ος
 119. 1 αυθις δε τους ξυ]μμαχους
 παρακαλεσαντες ψη]φο(ν)
 . . .

col. ii

120. 2 . [. [. [τ [5 τ [. [120. 3 [[[μεταλαμ] Fr. C ↓ 10 βανε]ιν· αγ[δ]ρ[ων γαρ σω φρο]νων μεν [εστιν ει μ]η αδικου[το η συχ]αζειν· αγα[θων δε α]δικουμε[νους 15 εκ] μεν ειρ[ηνης πολ]εμειν· εν [δε πα ρα]σχο]ν εκ πο[λεμου

Fr. A ↓

In the upper margin a different hand has added the page number. The second figure looks most like alpha, or possibly theta. λθ could be read here, and μ on the other side; or (perhaps more suitable to the traces) μα, and then μβ. It can be calculated that some 40 pages of text are lost before A begins (*BICS* 22 (1975), 67).

Col. i

1 οι πλει]ουσ: so ACEFGM: πλειους B. The spacing of the papyrus would allow either reading.

2 οι]κρ,: -κου ABCFGM, -κοι E. The trace (lower part of upright) would allow either reading.

3 ωε[ι]ν: so C: ωει ABCEFGMc.

16 εν Παμ]φνλι[αι: so ABCEFG: om. M.

25 ε]ς διφκρ[ο][σιας: so CEFGM: ες τας δ. AB. The spacing seems not to allow the reading of AB.

29 [εν τη]ι: so ABEFM: om. CG (add. in litura g²). The spacing requires the reading of ABEFM.

32 μ]εν: it looks as if the first hand wrote μ̄ = μ(εν); a second and cruder hand added εν to produce the full form.

36 ζτρυ]μωνα: so ABCEFM: ζτρυμωνα G.

38 ε]αυτφ(ν): αυτων codd.

41 οι]κ[ειου]ντ[ε]ς: so EFMc²: οικιοντες ABCGe²f². The spacing indicates -ει- rather than -ι-.

45 εκρ[ατ]ης[α]ν: αυτοι εκρατησαν codd. The meaning of αυτοί has been disputed (see Gomme *ad loc.*); a superficially similar use in 98. 2; αυτων coni. Hude. The papyrus has added something above the line, but apparently not αυτοι or the like; the first visible trace is a tall upright, then, immediately before ν, a well-preserved letter which looks most like μ (κ less probable). A possible reading might be [ο]ι μωρι:

a literal-minded note, to make it clear that the town was captured by the colonists, not by the Athenians in general (who are strictly the subject of the sentence). (If this view were right, it would be tempting to delete *αὐτοί*, as an intrusive remnant of a similar attempt at clarification.)

49 Δ[ραβη]κω[ι: the delta is written very high in the line; perhaps above, and correcting, a tau.
 Ηδω[νικη: so ABGFM: δωνικη CE.

Col. ii

3 επα||μυνα[ι: so ABEFM, γρ. G: -νευ CG. The trace is not decisive; but on balance it suggests alpha more than epsilon.

11 περι[οικων: so ABFMg²: παροικων CEG(?).

15 f. οι των παλαιων Μεσσηνιων τοτε δουλωθεντων (δουλωθεντων τοτε G) codd. The papyrus has space for this; but the traces in 16 do not suit the expected run. (a) If they are restored το]τε δ[ουλω, the line is extraordinarily short (and a word must have been omitted in 15). (b) If they are restored Μεσ[σηνιων δουλω, no space remains for τοτε, unless it preceded ([ο]ι [των παλαιων το]τε]; not [ο]ι [των παλαιων] by itself, which would make 15 improbably short).

19 τ[ρος μεν ουν: so C, add. G¹: ουν om. ABCEFGM. Space suggests that the papyrus had the longer reading.

35 Before sigma, an unexplained space; after it, perhaps a middle or low stop.

43 τοις δε: so codd.: <αυ>τοις Nattmann. The spacing in the papyrus would allow either the reading or the emendation.

49 στρα]τειας: so Cf.: στρατιας ABCEFM[G].

Fr. A →

In the upper margin a page number, perhaps μ or μ[.]. See on A ↓.

Col. i

7 νεωτε]ριωσι: so ABCEFM: νεωτεροποιησει CG.

11 δ' for δε.

12 τ⁵ for ται.

13 οι δ]ε: οι δ' codd. (ουδ' C).

14 εγνωσαν]: so CEGM: om. ABF. The spacing shows that the papyrus had the longer reading.

16 αποπεπε]μμοι[νοι would fit space and trace: αποπεπομενοι codd.

23-5 τη(ν)[[επι τωι Μηδωι γ]ενομεξ|[νην: so G: την γενομενην επι τωι Μηδωι ABCEFMG¹.

25, 28 Π for προς.

26 Αργει]οι, c: unexplained remains (a washed-out letter?) before sigma.

32 f. δε]κα|[τωι: the papyrus apparently agreed with codd. in this much-disputed reading.

36 εφ ω|[εξια]σιν: so CG: εφ ω(ι)τε εξιασιν ABCEFMg². The spacing favours the shorter reading here.

37 Πελοπονηη|[ου: so ABCEFM: Πελοπονησου CG.

38 f. μη|[δεποτ]ε: so ABCEFMg²: μηκετι G. The spacing suits the longer reading; and the final trace suits epsilon rather than iota (part of the crossbar is visible).

44 προ[[c]: sigma deleted by a fine oblique stroke.

49 οι Αθ]ηναιοι: so C: οι om. ABCEFM. Space favours the longer reading here.

50 κα]τα: so ABCEFM: κατ' G.

Col. ii

1 Μεγα]ρισ[ι: so CFMge²: -ρης ABEG.

6 ε]σχ[ον: so ABCEFM: ειχον C.

13 l. ουχ.

16 γιγν[εσθαι: γενεσθαι codd. There is space to spare after this: blank (to mark off the new section)? a word written by mistake and then deleted (of which the heavily blotted letter before *Ιναρ[ωσ* would be the end)?

17 Ψαμμ[η]τιχου: so ACEM: Ψαμμιτιχου BFGaec². The spacing would allow either reading.

β[ασι]λευ[ς: Λιβυς βασιλευς codd.

20 Μ[α]ρσι[α]ς: so ABCFGM: Μαρσις E.

22 Αιγυπτου: so ACEFGM: om. B (add. b²).

απο]: απο βασιλευς codd., too long for the space.

23 *Αρταξερξον*: so BEFGM: *Αρτο-* A(?)C.

38-47 These lines are so badly rubbed that scarcely a letter is secure.

43 *μ[η] απ[ο]στρατες: μη ξυναποσταντες* codd.

44 Unverifiable traces of ink not assigned to letters.

50 *Αθηναιοι εναυμαχησαν επι Κεκρυφαιαι Πελοποννησιων ναυσι* codd. The papyrus had something extra in 50, or else changed the word-order (*ναυσι]ν* would fit the space).

Fr. B + C →

Col. i

5 *δε*: so CG: *δ'* ABEFM.

16 Unverifiable traces of ink not assigned to letters.

Col. ii

1 *ταξαμενοι*|*κα[τα] χρονους*: so CG: *κατα χρονους ταξαμενοι* ABEFM.

Remaining: one small scrap (fr. D) unplaced.

3451. THUCYDIDES viii

24 3B. 75/J(1)

Fr. 11 5.5 × 17.0 cm.

First-second century

Scattered fragments from a roll containing Thucydides viii.¹ The generous margins (upper margin on fr. 11, 4.9 cm.; lower margin on fr. 9, 4.5 cm.; intercolumnium on fr. 10, at least 1.6 cm.) and the size of the lettering (3.5 mm. high) indicate that this was originally a fine copy. No column survives in its entirety; but a height of at least 26 lines can be deduced from fr. 13 and 14, which contain portions of text so close that they must come from consecutive columns. The line-length varies from 12 to 18 letters. The back is blank. The hand is an upright rounded capital, bilinear (except for phi and psi) and decorated with hooks and half-serifs; it belongs to the so-called 'Roman Uncial' type (Cavallo, *ASNP* 36 (1967), 209 ff.), and can be compared with, for example, the more formal and elegant P. Berol. 9739 (Schubart, *PGB* pl. 19a; Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* II no. 22); it can probably be dated to the late first or early second century. Punctuation by middle stop, high stop and paragraphus; these, and perhaps also the marginal note in fr. 22, seem to be the work of the original scribe. The only evidence of what may be a second hand is the possible accent at fr. 10. 3 and the interlinear correction at fr. 14. 3.

Collated with the *editio maior* of Hude (1901); add XVII 2100 fr. 8 ii 34 ff., which covers the same text as 3451 fr. 5. The readings of the papyrus may be tabulated as follows:

	With	Against
Fr. 10. 1	cett.	B
8 f.	cett.	A G
11. 11	cett.	M
13	cett.	F M
16	cett.	B
17	cett.	B

¹ I am indebted to W. E. H. Cockle and D. Traill for the placing of some of the small fragments.

13. 7	cett.	A B
*14. 1-3	—	codd.
3 (<i>post corr.</i>)	cett.	B
*15. 8	—	codd.
18. 2 (perhaps)	B C E	cett.
19. 3	cett.	B

The papyrus offers two unique variants (marked *), both possible but neither very attractive. Otherwise it supports the bulk of the MSS. against eccentrics, and especially against the eccentricities of B. The old theory, that the peculiar readings of B (from vi 92) and H (vi 92-vii 50) represent a separate ancient recension, has now generally been given up; certainly **3451** and the other papyri provide negative evidence against it, since they fail to attest any of the *Leitfehler* of B H at this earliest stage of the tradition. See O. Luschnat, *Thucydidis Historiae*² (Teubner, Leipzig, 1960) 1, pp. ix-xix; H. Erbse, *Geschichte d. Textüberlieferung* 1 (Zürich, 1961), 253-5.

Fr. 1

12. 3 . . .
 μογ[ιου και δια ταχους
 τον π[λουν εποιουντο
 13 αγε[κομιζοντο δε υπο
 . . .

Fr. 2

14. 2-3 . . .
 θραι]οι αθη[ναιων
 και με]τα ταυ[τα τρισι
 ναυσι πλ]ευσα[ντες
 . . .

Fr. 3

18. 3 . . .
 αφιστ]ωγ[ται απο βα
 ριλεως] πο[λεμιοι εκ
 των και] λακ[εδαιμονι
 οικ και] τρο[ικ ξυμμαχοικ
 . . .

Fr. 4

21 . . .
 αυτονομι]αν [μετα
 ταυτα ως βεβ]αιο[ικ
 ηδη ψηφισα]μεν[ων
 τα λοιπα διωι]κο[υν
 5 την πολιν] και [τοις
 . . .

Fr. 5

24. 3 . . .
 οι δε τη]ν χ[ωραν κα
 λως] κατες[κευασμε
 νην και] απ[αθη ου
 σαν α]πο τ[ων μηδικων
 . . .

Fr. 6

25. 1 . . .
 κατ]επλε[υσαν εκ σαμον
 και δ]ιαβαν[τες εκ μιλη
 Foot

Frr. 7+8

. . . .

27. 4 γαγοντας] πας[α
 . τας ναυς το]υς επι[
 πλους ην] που και[
 ρος ηι ποι]εισθαι.[
 27. 5 5 ως δε επεις]ε και [

. . . .

Frr. 9+10

Col. i (fr. 9)

Col. ii (fr. 10)

Top

28. 4

τογ [αμοργην παρα
 εφα[ς αυτους κομι
 εαντ[εσ και ουκ αδι
 κησαντε[ς ξυνετα

5 ξαν οτι η[σαν οι πλει
 ςτοι εκ π[ελοπον
 νησου] [το τε πολις
 μα τιςς[αφερνει πα
 ραδογ[τεσ και τα αν

10 δρα]πο[δα παντα και

. . . .

28. 3 πολλα] η ς[τρατια
 ελαβεν] παλα[ιοπλου
 τον γα]ρ ην [το χω
 ριο]ν τους τε επι[

28. 4 5 κουρ]ους τους περι[

Foot

Fr. 11

Top

30. 1 διακληρωσαμ[ενοι
 επι μεν τηι μι[ιλη
 τωι τωι να[υτικωι
 εφορμειν] [προς
 5 δ]ε την χιϝν] [και ναυ
 τι]κον και π[εζον

30. 2	π]εμφαι· κα[ι εποι ης]αν ουτω· [ετρομ βιχι]δης μεν [γαρ 10 κα]ι ονομακ[λης κα]ι ευκτημω[ν τρια κο]ντα ναυς ε[χον τ]ες και των ε[ς μι λ]ητον ε[λ]θον[των 15 χιλίων ο]πλιτ[ων μερος α]γαγοντ[ες εν ναυς]ι οπλιτ[αγω γοις ε]πι χιο[ν λα χοντες] επλε[ον · · ·	Fr. 12 32. 3	· · ·] ους [εφας εξειν η] του[ε αθηναίου ην] τι εφ[αλλωνται κα] κω[σειν · · ·
-------	---	---------------------	--

Frr. 13, 14, 15

	Col. i (fr. 13)		Col. ii (frr. 14, 15)
	x lines lost	(34)	Top
33. 4	δε ες την μιλ]ητ[ον εκομισθη ως]περ 34 διανοειτο εν] τούττωι δε και η των α]θη> 5 ναιων στρατια] ταις ναυσιν εκ του κωρ]υκου περιπλευσα] κατ αρ γινον επιτυχ]α> νει τρις ναυς τ]ων c. 17 lines lost		εσ τον λι]μενα τον υπο τωι μι]μναντι] καλ[ο]υμ[ενον φοινικου]ντα εν [] 5 [] [] μ]ε[νοι παρ]εσκ[ευ α]ζο[ντο ω]ς ες τον τ]ειχ[ισμο]ν· εκ δε 10 τη]ς π[ελο]πονη ς]ου τ[ου α]υτου χει μ]ω[νος] ιπποκρα τ]ης ο [λακ]εδαιμο νι]ος [εκπλευ]σας 15 δε]κα [μεν θουρ]ι αι]ς ν[αυσιν ων η]ρ χε] δ[ωριευς · · ·
		35. 1	

Fr. 16

81. 1-2?

· · ·
 αι]ων [γενομενης
 δε εκ]κλ[ησιας την
 τε] ιδ[ιαν ξυμφοραν
 · · ·

Fr. 17 + 18

Col. i (fr. 17)

Col. ii (fr. 18)

Top

97. 1

ειν]αι δε αυτ[ων οπο
 κοι ο]πλα παρε[χονται
 και μι]σθον μηδ[ενα
 φερει]ν μηδεμι[αι
 5 αρχηι] ει δε μ[η επαρα
 · · ·

97. 1

· · ·
] τε [ειωθεσαν εν
] ηιπ[ερ και τους
 c. 5 lines lost

Fr. 19

Fr. 20

100. 3

· · ·
 ηπειρου μι]σθω[σα
 μενοι ξυμ]πασι[ν ως
 τριακοσι]οις α[να
 ξανδρου] θηβα[ιου
 5 κατα το ξυ]γγ[ενες
 · · ·

106. 2

· · ·
 τους] κατ[αμεμφε
 σθαι] και τ[ους πολε
 μιους] ετι [αξιους
 του ες] τα ν[αυτικα
 106. 3 5 νομι]ζει[ν ναυς
 μεντο]ι τ[ων εναν
 · · ·

Unplaced fragments

Fr. 21

Fr. 22

Fr. 23

Fr. 24

Top

Top

]ν.[

].τωικα.[

εμ[

]ρου

π[

]η.[

]κ.[

]ονη[

Foot

Foot

]εβ.[

]επ.[

· · ·

Fr. 25	Fr. 26
.
]ενν[. [
].ν[. [
]το[	η[
. . .	η[
	5 μ[
	. . .

Fr. 3. 2-3 Space does not show whether the papyrus had *ἔστωσαν* (MSS.) or *ἔστων* or *ὄντων* (editors).

Fr. 7+8. 4 Space does not show whether the papyrus had *ἦι* (B) or *εἶη* (cett.).

Fr. 10. 1 Space allows *Ἀμόργην* (cett.), not *Ἀμόργην τὸν Πισσοῦθου* (B).

3 The apparent accent, probably by a second hand, is difficult to explain. It would take a very negligent reader to assume the division *-άν τε*, unless the text following was different from that of the MSS.

8-9 *παραδόντες* cett.: *παραδιδόντες* A [G].

Fr. 11. 11 ff. *τριάκοντα ναῦς ἔχοντες* cett.: *καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Χίου πάσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ξυναγαγόντες* M.

13 *τῶν* cett.: *τὸν* FM.

16 *ἀγαγόντες* cett. (γρ. B): *ἀπολιπόντες* B: *ἄγοντες* Krüger, edd.

17 *εν ναυς*] pap., to judge from the space: *ἐν ναυσίν* cett. (-σί C, corr. c²): *ναυσίν* B.

Fr. 12 It is not certain that the surviving letters represent line-beginnings, although some blank fibres to the left of line 3 give the impression of margin.

Fr. 13. 7 *κατ' Ἀργίνον* cett.: *κατὰ Ῥηγίνον* A B.

Fr. 14. 1-3 A new reading: *ἐς τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Μίμαντι λιμένα Φοινικοῦντα καλούμενον* (κ. om. B) MSS. *καλούμενον*, omitted by the original scribe, was inserted by a second hand.

8 *ω]ς ες*: a new reading: *ἐς* MSS. (Dobrée had conjectured *ὡς ἐς τὴν Χίον*).

Fr. 17. Nothing remains of the left-hand margin; but apparent traces of a paragraphus under line 2 (too high up to be a letter in the line below) show that these are beginnings.

Fr. 18. 2 The space suits *ὄπλα* (B C E) better than *καὶ ὄπλα* (cett.).

Fr. 19. 3 *τριακοσίους* cett.: *-ους* B.

Fr. 21. 1]ν.[: ο, ς, ω?

2]η.[: δ, μ?

3]κ.[: damaged upright, with no junction at the very top or at the foot, where the ink is preserved (β, γ, η, ι, κ, ν, ρ?).

4]ξβ.[: top of upright?

Fr. 22 Note (by the scribe? or by a second hand?) at the top of the wide top margin. Perhaps *-τωι* *καὶ* ξ. [or *κακ*. [The last trace is so high as to suggest a raised letter (i.e. an abbreviation by suspension).

2 Iota added above the line, apparently by the original hand.

Fr. 23 may not belong to this MS. The mu has its first stroke upright, unlike any in the identified fragments.

Fr. 25. 1]ξ: only the end of the crossbar, touching the nu.

2]ν[: ο, ω.

Fr. 26 probably does not belong to this MS. The writing is smaller and neater.

III. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

3452. GREEK-LATIN GLOSSARY

42 5B. 78/E (3-6)a

4.7 × 6.7 cm.

Second century

Part of two columns (words beginning with *Π*, *P* and *C*) from a Greek-Latin glossary, written in Greek script throughout, across the fibres. On the front are meagre remains of cursive, apparently from an account. The hand is a very small, rather irregular semi-cursive. Alpha, gamma and lambda are ligatured throughout to the following letter, but the scribe has tried to avoid ligaturing the other letters, not always successfully. This sort of script is best compared with the hands of such second century subliterate texts as VI 853 (Commentary on Thucydides; Roberts, *GLH* pl. 17a), XXIV 2390 (Commentary on Alcman), XXXI 2536 (Commentary on Pindar; Turner, *GMAW* pl. 61). There are no lectional signs, except accents (or stress-marks) on two of the Latin words (i 17 f.). Diagonal marks and crosses precede the entries in col. ii; these are probably check marks, as often in accounts, rather than tachygraphic signs (the explanation which was offered for similar marks in another glossary, P. Rein. inv. 2140 = P. Sorb. 8, by E. A. Lowe, *CLA* v 699); the two crosses occurring where an error has been made at ii 4-5 seem to support this view. A second hand may have been responsible for deleting a word in i 18, and for correcting the order of entries at ii 3-5.

The entries are alphabetized but, as in the majority of early lexical works, only by the first two letters (L. W. Daly, *Contributions to a History of Alphabetisation*, 1967, 30 f.). At ii 6 the beginning of a new letter is marked by a gap of about six lines, and by the heavily enlarged initial of the first word; at ii 12 (and perhaps i 6) a smaller gap marks a sub-group within the main letter. A number of such glossaries have turned up among the papyri, mostly Latin-Greek and mostly arranged by subject (Pack² 3003-9); for Greek-Latin vocabularies cf. XXXIII 2660 and 2660a and perhaps XLVI 3315 (only the Latin survives), which also write the Latin in Greek characters, but arrange the entries by subject, and the Fragmentum Wallraffianum (re-edited by J. Kramer, *ZPE* 38 (1980), 229), part of an extensive alphabetic lexicon which uses the Roman alphabet for the Latin words. Most of the entries in 3452 can be paralleled in the ancient or the medieval examples (see *CGL*, especially vol. III). This indicates not only the widespread demand which must have existed in the ancient world for linguistic aids of this type, but also a common point of origin for these aids: cf. A. Bataille, *Rech. Pap.* 4 (1967), 161-70.

Col. i

Col. ii

		
		]ν.	
		].	/ρωμ.[
		]μ	/ρωμαι[
		]	^{υποκλ} /ρω[ξ] [
5		]	^β ×ρωμ... [
		].	5 ^α ×ρωμαι.[
		]. ις	
		]...ης	
		]πρειμωι	
10	π]ρ...[...]	αντε	
	π]τελει[νος]	ουιλμεουσ	
	π]τωξε[ω]ν	ουοκαβουλωρουμ	
	π]υρρος	ρουβρους	/Cαραπις [
	π]υρριχισται	λουδιωνης	/καρξ .. [
15	π]υλων	ιανουα	/καλπιςτης [
	π]υργικκος	αρμαριουμ	/καρον ρκ[ωπα
	π]υξιον	βούξιουμ	10 /καλπιγξ το[υβα
	] (...^δ) β.[		]ς[α]νδαλια ρο[λεαι
		
			ς]ειγα [
			ς]ειγας [
		

1]ν. : a further trace of ink, high up to the right, may belong to the line above, or to a check mark in the next column.

2]. : alpha or mu.

4-5 Perhaps lines with short words now lost completely, perhaps a space left blank to indicate a sub-group of words in pi: cf. ii 11-12.

6]. : alpha or mu.

8]...ης: the writing is even more cramped than elsewhere; one or two letters, or none, may be missing on the left; the second trace most suggests pi, or tau iota, the third is a long descender (gamma?, iota, rho, tau?, phi). ου]επρης might fit, but none of the Greek equivalents of *vepres* (CGL VII 401) begins with pi.

9]πρειμωι: probably *primo*, glossing πρώτως (CGL II 425. 20). Less likely οπ]πρειμωι, since the equivalent Greek compounds in *προς-* (CGL VI 84 under *appremo*) would be long for the space.

10 π]ρ...[...]: πρότερον occurs most frequently as the Greek equivalent for *ante* in the glossaries (CGL VI, s.v. 'ante') but πρόθεν, πρό του and πρώην which are also offered by the medieval glossaries are possible here too. Traces of more than three letters exclude πρό.

11 π]τελε[ν]οc: although most likely as a restoration opposite the adj. *ulmeus*, the adjective is not found glossed elsewhere; both *πτελέα* and *πτελέων* however occur frequently: CGL VII, s.v. 'ulmus'; 'ulmetum'.

12 πτωξε[ω]ν: traces only of sigma and nu; not otherwise glossed but clearly the only suitable partner for *vocabulorum* here. At CGL III 421. 42, *vocabulorum* is glossed by *κλήσεων*.

13 πυρρος: commonly glossed: CGL VII, s.v.

14 π]υρριχισται: an unusual word not otherwise glossed; elsewhere *ludio* serves as the Latin equivalent of *κατυριστής* (CGL II 124. 47; 430. 2) and *Κουρήτες* (CGL III 289. 59; 524. 29). *πυρριχίζειν* has turned up recently in XXXV 2738 ii. 1 (commentary on unknown Old Comedy).

15-17 Commonly glossed words: CGL VII, s.vv.

16 αρμαριονημ: νμ corrected from ν.

17 βούξινημ: Latin properly *buxum*; *buxium* is not recorded in TLL. On the word's specialized meaning of 'box-wood writing tablet' see E. G. Turner, *GMAW* 7 n. 2 and pl. 4.

18 Probably to be read and restored πυξοc] (δενδ^δ) βόν[ξοc, cf. CGL II 31. 53 *buxus πύξοc τὸ δένδρον*. The scribe wrote *δένδ(ρον)* in abbreviated form, in order not to encroach on the right-hand column; then he or someone else bracketed it for deletion.

Col. ii

1-2, 4-5 There are several commonly glossed words which might have stood in these lines - 'Ρώμη (ῥώμη), ῥωμαῖζω, ῥωμαϊκόc, ῥωμαῖοc, ῥωμαῖτί, ῥωμαλέοc, ῥωμύλοc: CGL VII s.vv.

2 The function of the paragraphus is perhaps to indicate where the words in 4-5 should rightly come. The stroke might also be taken as a heavy serif on the descender of rho; but there are no such serifs in the rest of the piece.

3 υποκ^ι: added by the second hand? The raised sign at the end has the right-angle shape commonly taken by alpha in suspension; so that ὑποκά(τω) is the likeliest expansion. The note indicates that ῥώξ is misplaced and should be indexed 'below'.

ρω[ξ]: commonly glossed as *acinus* (CGL VII, s.v.), and in the plural once as *grana* and once as *baca*: CGL III 357. 53; 428. 3.

4-5 β, α added (by the second hand?) to indicate that the order of these words should be reversed: cf. lines 3-4 of the *dramatis personae* in the Bodmer papyrus of Menander's *Dyskolos*, and P. Hamb. 133. 2 (Lysias).

5 To the left of ρ, and above the cross, remains of one or two letters perhaps deleted.

6 Καραπιc: initial sigma drawn very large. The word is often glossed: CGL VII s.v.

7 καρξ: frequently glossed by either *caro* or *pulpa*; CGL VII s.v. The traces which follow do not seem to be far enough to the right to be the beginning of the Latin equivalent (not *καρξιμ* = *καρξίμ*, it seems).

8 καλπιcτηc: commonly glossed as *tubicen*, less frequently as *tubicinator*: CGL VII s.v.

9-11 All glossed frequently: CGL VII s.vv.

11-12 The space has been left to separate the words in *CE* from those in *CA*. CGL VII lists no words between these groups except *εβεννώ* and *εβέκιc*.

12-13 c]ειγα, c]ειγac: ει for ī. It is not clear what distinction the glossarist intended to draw between these words. Does *κειγα* represent *cīga* adv. or *cīga* imper.? There may have been a possible confusion of usage between the latter and *ειγac*: cf. *CPL* 276, where the glossarist is at pains to distinguish the different meanings of the Latin words *tribus*, *vitio* and *ventum*.

3453. LIST OF Προσφάδια

37 4B. 103/F (6)c

3.6 × 7.6 cm.

Second-third century

This scrap has, on one side, remains of cursive writing (perhaps numerals) in a ruled framework; on the back, across the fibres, 3453, a list of lectional signs, nearly complete and with a lower margin of 2 cm. The hand is an inexperienced or careless round upright script, of the second or possibly third century; the general impression

is similar to that of P. Lit. Lond. 96 (Herodas: Turner, *GMAW*, no. 39) or BKT 1 (Didymus: Schubart, *PGB* pl. 20; Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* 11, no. 38), though the latter is more cursive. The writing itself does not suggest a schoolboy's copy; but note the odd use of diaeresis in 1, and the numerous itacisms.

'Dionysius Thrax' (that is, whoever wrote this part of the grammar) lists ten prosodiae, classified in four groups (*Gramm. Gr.* 11, p. 105): (τόνοι) 1. ὀξεῖα 2. βαρεῖα 3. περιπωμένη, (χρόνοι) 4. μακρά 5. βραχεῖα, (πνεύματα) 6. δαεῖα 7. ψιλῆ, (πάθη) 8. ἀπόστροφος 9. ὑφέν 10. ὑποδιαστολή. But the rest of the tradition shows divergences both in the number and in the order of the signs. (a) Herodian and Sextus Empiricus, in the second century, recognize only the first seven prosodiae; Epiphanius, in A.D. 392, recognizes all ten; between these falls P. Amh. 11 21 (early fourth century), which lists the seven, and then the three πάθη separately as (προσῳδαίαι) <κατα>χρηστικῶς λεγόμεναι. (See A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1979), 188–97.) 3453 and 3454 now show that the canon of ten was in general circulation rather earlier, perhaps (if the palaeographic dates can be trusted) by the early third century. (b) P. Amh. 21 gives the signs in the order 1–3, 6–7, 4–5, 8–10 (πνεύματα before χρόνοι). 3453 and 3454 do the same, except that 3 (περιπωμένη) appears after 7 (ψιλῆ). It seems nonsensical to separate one accent from the others in this way; but since both papyri make the same transposition, we must be dealing with a corrupt tradition, not with individual carelessness. (c) 'Dionysius' calls the last sign ὑποδιαστολή; so do 3453 and 3454. P. Amh. 21 refers to it as διαστολή καθ' {ε}ἰδίαν.

3454 draws each sign, as well as writing its name; 3453 may have done the same, to the right of the names, where the papyrus is now lost. Did these slips serve as portable instruction for would-be writers and readers? The signs are illustrated also in MSS. of 'Dionysius', and two or three of them in P. Amh. 21. 10 f.

	προσῳδῖ[αι
	οξια [
	βαρια[
	δασια[
5	ψειλη [
	περιπω[μενη
	μακρα [
	βραχε[ια
	αποσ[τ]ρο[φος
10	ὑφεν
	ὑπ[οδιαστολη

2-5. 1. ὀξεΐα, βαρεΐα, δασεια, ψιλή.

9 The first letter stands out in the margin but does not look as if it was added later. *Ekthesis* to mark off the section of three πάθη, which according to some could not properly be called prosodiae (see introduction)?

11 About 1 cm. below this line is a paragraphus to mark the end of the list.

3454. LIST OF Προσωδίαι AND Στιγμαί

22 3 B. 20/J (4)a

6.2 x 5 cm.

Second century

A more or less complete slip of papyrus, with writing across the fibres. The other side shows a heavy sheet-join, whose upper layer has remains of two lines in cursive. The text was copied in a small plain upright literary script, comparable with that of the London Herodas (Turner, *GMAW* 39) or of the Oxyrhynchus *Symposium* (V 843, with pl. vi); I should assign it, doubtfully, to the second century, but a later date could hardly be excluded. The copyist writes too well to be a schoolboy, and spells too badly to be an educated man.

For the ten *prosodiai* see 'Dionysius Thrax', *Gramm. Gr.* 1 i, p. 105; but the standard items here follow an idiosyncratic order, see 3453 introduction. For the three *stigmai* see 'Dionysius Thrax', pp. 7 f. His account reads: [στιγμαί εἰσι τρεῖς· τελεία, μέση, ὑποστιγμή. καὶ ἡ μὲν τελεία] στιγμή ἐστι διανοίας ἀπηρτισμένης σημείον, [μέση δὲ σημείον πνεύματος ἔνεκεν παραλαμβανόμενον,] ὑποστιγμή δὲ διανοίας μηδέπω ἀπηρτισμένης ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐνδεούσης σημείον. τίνι διαφέρει στιγμή ὑποστιγμῆς; χρόνω. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ στιγμῇ πολὺ τὸ διάστημα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑποστιγμῇ παντελῶς ὀλίγον. Thus the text as transmitted lists three stops, but discusses the time-value of only two; scholars have therefore assumed that the words in square brackets are a later addition; an earlier system of two stops (*stigma* and *hypostigma*) gave way to a more elaborate system of three (*teleia*, *mesē*, *hypostigma*), and Dionysius was adapted accordingly (Uhlig, *Gramm. Gr.* 1 i, p. lxxix). This assumption has some support from outside. A three-point system existed by the reign of Hadrian, when Nicanor ὁ Στιγματίας used it as base for his own rococo punctuation; and it is about the same time that the system appears first in literary papyri, which up to then make do with one or two stops. If this theory of the historical development is correct, the second century was the time of transition. 3454 belongs to that century, and may indeed document the transition: though it recognizes three stops, it calls the heaviest by the old name of *stigma* (not *teleia*), and tags on the newcomer *mesē* at the end of the list.

	πρω[δι]ε̄ εῑων̄ ῑ̄	
	ο]ξ̄εια []	
	β]ᾱρεια []	(12) στιγμε δε̄ ῑ̄ων̄ [γ
	δ]ᾱσια ⚡	στιγμη •
5	ψι]λη —	ὑποστιγμη •
	π]ε̄ρισπω[με]νη ⤿	15 μεση •
	μακρα —	
	β]ρᾱχια ∪	
	α]ποστροφο[σ]	
10	υ]φ̄εν ∇	
	υ]ποδιαστολη ⤵	

1 l. *πρωφῆαι*.

4 l. *δαεία*.

5. The sign seems to have been written as a lone horizontal, without the expected vertical at the right (⚡).

8. l. *βραχία*.

10 The sign has an angular shape, different from the usual gentle curve (which also appears in MSS. of 'Dionysius Thrax', if the printed text p. 106 represents them correctly). P. Amh. II 21. 10 (fourth century), by contrast with both, has the modern form of hyphen, a horizontal stroke within the line (transcribed as — ; but the vertical element seems to be the tail of hypsilon above, see the photograph in A. Wouters, *Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1979) pl. viii).

12 l. *στιγμαί, εἶων*.

13-15 The three signs, which should be in high, middle and low position, are written indistinguishably at mid-height.

IV. METROLOGY

3455. METROLOGICAL TEXT

57/31 verso

15 × 15.5 cm.

Third/fourth century

This badly damaged papyrus, despite a number of unclear passages, is of interest for its attestation of a 'Nicomedian' measure, a description of the dimensions of the *chus*, and statements of the weight of various measures of grain. As in I 9v + 3456 and IV 669 spelling and grammar are often faulty, and there is at least one mistake in terminology (31 n., cf. 14 n.) as well as a wrong figure in one of the definitions (6 n.).

The other side contains remnants of money accounts in two columns, each upside down in respect to the other, separated by a clumsy sheet join.

It seems that some documents with blank backs were made up into a roll to take the metrological text, in which the writing runs across the fibres.

Four small detached bits do not belong to either column transcribed below and give no connected sense. The largest (3.5 × 1.5 cm.) reads]η.[²]ικη̄ [. . .] και βα[κιλική (?)³] ἡ δὲ ἔριοπωλική̄ .[. If the following word was μ[νᾶ, this fragment presumably comes from the continuation of the passage which begins in 43-6.

Preliminary work on the text was done by R. A. Coles. The abbreviation MSR in the notes refers to F. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiae* vols. I and II (Leipzig, 1864 and 1866).

Two or three lines lost.

[c. 13].[

.....[.]ηδα[

ἡ δὲ κιδηροῦς ἄγι μ[

ἄγι στατήρας λε. [c. 10 ό κα-]

5 λούμενος Πτολε[μαικός χοῦς ἔχι τὸ μὲν μῆκος]

πῆχ(υν) ἕνα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος δακτύ[λω]ν κδ̄,

τὸ δὲ πᾶχ[ο]ς δακτύλων κδ̄, ὥς τὰ μέτρα

πολυπλασιασθέντα{γ} εἶναι τοῦν χόις χυδέ-

[ων] μὲν δακτύλων σπη̄, ἀ[γ]ελέων

10 [δὲ 'S]λιβ. ό δὲ Νικομηδικός [. .]ις ἐν ᾧ τὰ

[.] α ὠνίται [ἔχι] τὸ μὲν μῆκος πῆχυν ἕνα,

[τὸ δὲ πλ]άτος δακτύλων [. .] ος πᾶ-

- [χος δὲ δα]κτύλων ἦ, ὥς εἶν[αι τὸ]ν Νικο-
 [μηδ]ικὸν πῆχυν χοιδέων μὲν δακτύ-
 15 [λων] $\bar{\beta}$, ἀγελέων δὲ [].
 [ὁ δὲ στ]ερεὸς πῆχοις ἔχι τὸ μὲν μῆκος
 [πῆχυν] $\bar{\xi}$ [ν]α, τὸ δὲ πλάτος δακτύλων $\bar{\kappa}\delta$,
 [τὸ δὲ πά]χος δακτύλων $\bar{\kappa}\delta$, ὥς εἶναι τὸν
 [στερε]ὸν πῆχυν χ [υδ]έων μὲν δακτύλων
 20 [φοσ], ἀγ]ελέων δὲ $\bar{\omega}$ 'Γωκδ. // // //
 [ἡ δὲ λεί]τρα ἀσήμου ἔχι ὄνκ[ί]α $\bar{\iota}\beta$,
 [στατήρας] $\bar{\kappa}\delta$, (δραχμὰς?) $\bar{\rho}\zeta$, ἡ δὲ ὄνκία ἔχ[ι]
 [στατήρας] $\bar{\beta}$, δραχμὰς (δραχμὰς ?) η.

Col. ii

- [ὁ δὲ στ]ατήρ ἔχι δραχμ[ὰ]ς δ . [
 25 [. . .]εται δραχμὲ (δραχμὲ) 'Δ γράμμα[τα
 ἡ δ[ὲ] λεί]τρα ἔχι χρυσοῦ δηνάρια $\bar{\mu}$ [
 ἀργύρια (vac.) $\bar{\zeta}$, μναί $\bar{\iota}$. [
 τὸ δὲ μναγιαῖον ἔχι χρυσοῦ<ς> δ ,
 τετάρται $\bar{\iota}\zeta$, θέρμου<ς> $\bar{\xi}\delta$,
 30 κεράτια $\bar{\rho}\kappa\eta$. ὁ δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ
 ἔχι στατήρας $\bar{\delta}$, θέρμους $\bar{\iota}\zeta$,
 κεράτια $\bar{\lambda}\beta$. ὁ δὲ θέρμους
 ἔχι κεράτια $\bar{\beta}$. ἡ δὲ τετάρτη
 ἔχι θέρμους μὲν $\bar{\delta}$, κεράτι[α ἦ].
 35 ὁ δὲ θέρμους ἔχι κεράτια $\bar{\beta}$. [
 ν.[.]ται ὀλκαισπ.[. . .]. [
 ἡ τ[οῦ] πυροῦ (ἀρτάβη) ἄγι ὀλκῆς τα[λάντου (ἦμισυ),]
 ἡ δὲ [τ]ῆς κριθῆς μναῖς $\bar{\kappa}\delta$, [ἡ δὲ τῆς ὀλύ-]
 ρης $\bar{\iota}\delta$. ἡ τοῦ πυροῦ μέτρο[ν ἄγι (δραχμὰς) τ,]
 40 ἡ δὲ τῆς κριθῆς (δραχμὰς?) $\zeta\mu$, ἡ δ[ὲ] τῆς

ὀλύρης (δραχμάς) ῥμ. ἡ χύνιξ τοῦ πυ[ροῦ ἄγι (δραχμάς) οε,]
 ἡ δὲ τῆς κριθῆ[ς] (δραχμάς) ξ, ἡ δὲ [τῆς ὀλύρης]
 (δραχμάς) λε'. πᾶν τάλαντον ἰδ[ίαις ἔχει μνᾶς ξ,]
 αἰ δὲ μναῖ διαφέρουσιν ἀλλ[ήλων.]
 45 ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀργυρικὴ καὶ ἀριθ[μητικὴ μνᾶ]
 ἔχει στατήρας κ̄ε, (δραχμάς) δὲ ῥ [

3 and *passim*, l. ἄγι 5 and *passim*, l. ἔχει 8 l. τὸν χοῦν 8-9 l. χυδαίων 9 l. ἀγελαίων
 11 l. ὠνεῖται 14 l. χυδαίων 15 l. ἀγελαίων 16 l. πῆχυς 19 l. χυδαίων 20 l. ἀγελαίων
 25 l. δραχμαί 27 l. μνᾶς οἱ μναί(αἰα) 28 l. μναεῖον 29 τέταρται corr. from ταίταρται;
 l. τετάρτας 32 l. θέρμος 35 l. θέρμος 39-40 l. τό φορ ἡ 41 l. χοῖνιξ 43 ἰδ[ίαις]

'That of iron weighs... weighs 35 (?) staters.

The so-called Ptolemaic *chus* has a length of one cubit, a breadth of 24 [*sic* for 12] dactyls, a depth of 24 dactyls, so that the measurements multiplied together give a *chus* of 288 square dactyls and 6,912 cubic ones. The Nicomedian..., in which... are bought, has a length of one cubit, a breadth of... dactyls, a depth of 8 (?) dactyls, so that the Nicomedian cubit [*sic*; for *chus* ?] consists of... square dactyls and... cubic ones. The cubic cubit has a length of one cubit, a breadth of 24 dactyls, a depth of 24 dactyls, so that the cubic cubit consists of 576 square dactyls and 13,824 cubic ones.

The litre of uncoined silver contains 12 ounces, 24 staters, 96 drachmas. The ounce contains 2 staters, 8 drachmas. The stater contains 4 drachmas.

...4,000 drachmas (dr.)...scruples.

The litre contains 40 (+ ?) gold denarii, (56 or 86) silver pieces, 10 (+ ?) minas....

The mnaeion contains 4 gold pieces, 16 quarters, 64 thermoi, 128 carats. The gold piece contains 4 staters [*sic* for quarters], 16 thermoi, 32 carats. The thermos contains 2 carats. The quarter contains 4 thermoi, 8 carats. The thermos contains 2 carats.

... The artab of wheat holds $\frac{1}{2}$ talent by weight, that of barley 24 minas, that of olyra 14 (minas). The metron of wheat weighs 300 drachmas, that of barley 240 dr., that of olyra 140 dr. The choenix of wheat weighs 75 dr., that of barley 60 dr., that of olyra 35 dr. Every talent has 60 minas of its own standard, but the minas differ from one another; for the monetary and accounting mina contains 25 staters, 100 dr....'

2-4 Evidently this passage, like 36-43 below, states the weight of various substances that could be held in some unit of capacity, but too much is lost to determine the unit concerned. If the feminine article is accurate, the κοτύλη would be a reasonable guess.

2 At the end, perhaps ἡ δ' ἀ[ργυροῦς].

3 E.g., μ[έν] or some number of μ[νᾶς].

4-10 An Egyptian *chus* equal to the Attic one has long been known (MSR II 226-7, s.v. χοῦς 3), but its dimensions are given here for the first time.

6 πῆχ(υ) ἔνα: the length of each of the three measures described here and below is given as one cubit, which the mathematics shows to have its usual value of 24 dactyls. The remaining sides are measured in dactyls even when the number is 24 = 1 πῆχυς.

δακτύ[λω]ν κδ: κδ is a mistake for ιβ, 12. This correction in the width is required by the total 288 in 9 (cf. next note), and without it the *chus* would have the same dimensions as a cubic πῆχυς, which was in fact twice as large, see lines 10 and 20.

8-10 χυδαῖος and ἀγελαῖος are used in this papyrus for 'square' and 'cubic' respectively. Neither meaning is found in *LSJ*, *Suppl.*, or *WB*, but the latter was suggested by F. Hultsch in MSR I 37 n. 2. The arithmetic is: 1 πῆχυς or 24 dactyls × 12 dac. (24 pap., see last note) = 288 square dac.; × 24 = 6,912 cubic dac.

10 Νικομηδικὸς [...]ς: no 'Nicomedian' measure of any kind appears elsewhere in metrological writings. Line 14 calls this measure a πῆχυς. That is elsewhere known only as a unit of length, whereas

the measure described here is one of capacity. If the terminology in 14 is none the less accurate, the word was here spelled [πῆχος]ις, as in 16, but there is hardly room for that: the space rather suggests [χό]ις. On the size and shape of the measure see 15 n.

11 ῥνίται (for ὠνεῖται): not μετρίται or πωλίται.

12 The traces after the lacuna are not ἔργος. Probably one should restore a figure followed by π]ῆχος, which would then have been written twice by mistake.

13-14 Νικο[μηδ]ικόν: the supposed κ is difficult. Possibly the scribe wrote Νικομηδιαῖον instead of Νικομηδικόν.

14 πῆχυν is probably a mistake for χοῦν, see n. 10. Cf. perhaps 31, where στατήρας was written for τετάρτας.

15 The final β in the number of square dactyls is virtually certain, as the alternative, θ, would require an unlikely fraction in the measure of breadth. Assuming that β is correct, and that the breadth did not exceed a cubit, the choice of figures for the lacuna in 12 is limited to 3, 8, 13, 18, and 23 dactyls. The first of these would give a surface of 72 sq. dac., and ρβ can be read here: the alternatives, 192, 312, 432, and 552 sq. dac., are palaeographically unlikely.

72 sq. dac. multiplied by the very probable depth of 8 dac. in 13 would give a volume of 576 cubic dac. 576 cub. dac. is also the capacity of the κοτύλη, while none of the other figures yields a recognizable measure, or one which forms a plausible proportion of a known measure. With some reservation, then, I should suggest for the text in 11 ff.: τὸ μὲ[ν μῆκ]ος πῆχυν ἕνα, ¹²[τὸ δὲ πλ]ῆθος δακτύλων [γ, π]ῆχος {πά-¹³[χος] δὲ δα]κτύλων ἦ, ὡς εἶν[αι τὸ]ν Νικο- ¹⁴[μηδ]ικόν πῆχυν (l. χοῦν?) χοιδέων μὲν δακτύ-¹⁵[λων] ρβ, ἀγέλεων δὲ [φός], 'the length one cubit, the breadth 3 dactyls, the depth 8 dactyls, so that the Nicomedian chus (?) has 72 square dactyls, 576 cubic ones'. This view has the advantage of finding in the Nicomedian unit a well-known measure under a different name, rather than an entirely new measure. If correct, though, it seems very odd that such an unusual name should be given to the common κοτύλη, and the long, narrow, deep shape also seems peculiar. But perhaps the shape was the distinguishing feature.

16-20 Cf. MSR I 185. 17, ὁ δὲ στερεὸς πῆχυσ ἔχει... δακτύλους ἄ, γωκδ.

21-4 The definitions are all commonplace. ἀσήμων in 21 may be meant to show that this passage treats of the λίτρα and its metrological subdivisions as general units of weight, whereas 26-7 may speak of the number of coins which were physically struck from a pound of gold or silver (see p. 102, n. 1). Line 24 shows that στατήρας rather than the synonymous ἡμίονκια is wanted in 22-3.

23 δραχμάς (δραχμάς?): the drachma sign was repeated before the numeral, as also in 25 and perhaps 24.

24 δραχμ[ὰ]ς δ̄: or δραχμ[ὰ]ς (δραχμάς?) [δ̄].

25 I can find no unit in which 4,000 dr. are significant, and it is hard to see how this line can have held a definition. Perhaps ²⁴[πόσον] ²⁵[γί]γεται δραχμὲ (δρ.) 'Δ; γράμμα[τα] Ϟ 'B], 'How much is 4,000 dr.? 12,000 scruples.'

26-7 A 'golden denarius' presumably means an aureus (cf. MSR II 171 s.v. δηνάριον 8); if so, 40 of them would have the same value as 10 minas (27), both being equivalent to 1,000 (Attic) drachmas or standard denarii. This is reminiscent of the 'litre of gold' containing 1,000 miliarensia (MSR II 190, s.v. λίτρα 6), but miliarensia are not elsewhere to my knowledge called drachmas or denarii, and I see no way of fitting the ἀργύρια into this pattern. It may be relevant that 1,000 Attic drachmas equal 4,000 Alexandrian ones, the figure found in 25; but the figures for both aurei and minas are less than certain, cf. following notes.¹

26 A figure may have been lost after μ[.

¹ Dr C. E. King has pointed out to me that this passage might reflect the monetary system under Augustus: at that time 40 aurei were in fact struck to the pound of gold. According to Pliny, *HN* 33, 46, 132, denarii in the late Republic were struck at 84 to the pound of silver, and the same has been calculated for the early Empire from the weights of surviving coins (H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* I (London, 1923), xlv). This comes extremely close to the 86 that can be read here: the difference could arise from reckoning with pure as against alloyed silver. This is the most promising suggestion that I have found; against it should be pointed out that while 10 minas are exactly equal to 40 aurei in *value*, they cannot be equated with 86 denarii either in value or in weight.

27 The number after ἀργύρια was 56 or 86.

μναί is for μνάς, unless μναι(αία) was intended. The number was 10, followed by the first letter of a word; or perhaps ιδ, 14.

28–35 Cf. 3456 15–17, where the figures sometimes differ because the τετάρτη there is reckoned as 6 θέρμοι instead of 4. Both texts are internally consistent.

28 μναγιάιον: for the various spellings of this word see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 1, 72; cf. 3460 1.

χρυσού(ς) δ̄: i.e. 100 drachmas, as expected.

30 The noun lost after χρυσ[ού] was probably νούμμος. Again the aureus is meant.

31 στατήρας is a mistake for τετάρτας.

32–3 ὁ δὲ... κεράτια β: this piece of information is out of order here. It is repeated in its proper place, 35.

36 The word division is ὀλκαὶ σπ.[or ὀλκαῖς π.[. The first possibility suggests ὀλκαὶ πρῶ[ρων] or σπε[ρμά]τ[ων]. Either would suit the following list well, but it is hard to think of a suitable sentence. The second division might lead to γί[νο]ν[ται] ὀλκαῖς πρῶ[ρον] followed by αἱ ἀρτάβαι; ‘How much do artabas come to in weight?’ The ink trace after π.[...] is too indistinct to help.

37 τάλαντον (ἡμισυ): the weights for wheat in this and the following lines are entirely lost, while those for barley and olyra are preserved or restorable from figures in the text. One-half talent here is none the less as good as certain: the figure must be one or more whole talents, or a reasonable fraction of a talent, possibly with the addition of some minas or drachmas; and the amount must exceed the figure for barley (24 minas, 38), as the grains are listed in descending order of weight. Exactly $\frac{1}{2}$ talent gives a wheat–barley ratio of 60:48. This is too close to the modern real ratio to be wrong: a bushel of wheat weighs about 60 lb., one of barley about 50. (The figures were tested by R. A. Coles with the assistance of Grain Silos (Oxford) Ltd at Kidlington, Oxfordshire.)

38–9 ὀλύρης: H. Cadell in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (Toronto, 1970), 74–5 identifies ὀλυρα as durra, Indian millet.

39 μέτρον[ν]: used in the technical sense of $\frac{1}{10}$ artab; cf. 9 verso 8, 3458 7–8, SB vi 9406, 122 etc. The symbol for $\frac{1}{10}$ artab in P. Michael. 62 as corrected by B. Boyaval in *ZPE* 26 (1977) 253–61 was presumably vocalized as μέτρον.

40 ζμ: apparently written without a stroke to mark the numeral, as also ξ in 42.

41 χύνηξ: reckoned as $\frac{1}{40}$ artab. Cf. *ZPE* 24 (1977) 55–67; 3458 7–10.

43 The restoration follows MSR 1 300. 10.

45 Minas are not elsewhere called ἀργυρική or ἀριθμητική, but the numbers of staters and drachmas given here are normal.

3456. METROLOGICAL FRAGMENT

No inv. no.

43.5 × 11 cm.

Third/fourth century

3456 is the continuation of 9 verso (vol. 1, pp. 77–9), to which it joins directly; the front side of the papyrus has been published together with a re-edition of 9 recto as XXXIV 2687. The metrological definitions printed below are preceded by four mutilated columns of figures. The first of these shows remnants of only two lines, bracketed as if to cancel them. The remainder are tables of fractions similar to *ZPE* 6 (1970) 142, P. Mich. III 146–7, and the Achmim papyrus published by J. Baillet in *Mémoires publiées par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française*, vol. 9. 1 (Paris, 1892), giving sevenths and eighths of a series of whole numbers from 1 to 10,000. The following is representative. Col. ii τῆς μιᾶς τὸ ζ', ζ'. ² τ[ὸ] β, δ'κη. ³ τ[ὸ] γ, γ'ιδ' μβ̄. ⁴ τ[ὸ] δ, ζ'ιδ' ⁵ τὸ ε, β'κα. ⁶ τὸ ζ, ζ'γ'μβ̄. ⁷ το ζ, α'. Col. iv τὸ ν, ζδ' ² τὸ ξ, ζς'. ³ τὸ ο, ηςδ'. ⁴ τὸ π, ι'. ⁵ τὸ ρ, ιαδ' ⁶ τὸ ρ, ιβς'. ⁷ τὸ ς, κε. 'A 7th of 1 is $\frac{1}{7}$. Of 2, $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{28}$. Of 3, $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{14} \frac{1}{42}$. Of 4, $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{14}$. Of 5, $\frac{2}{3} \frac{1}{21}$. Of 6, $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{42}$. Of 7, 1.' Col. iv (8ths): 'Of 50, $6 \frac{1}{4}$. Of 60, $7 \frac{1}{2}$. Of 70, $80 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$. Of 80, $\frac{1}{10}$. Of 90, $11 \frac{1}{4}$. Of 100,

12½. Of 200, 25.' Cf. also the table of fractions associated with XXXIII 2656, described in E. G. Turner, *New Fragments of the Misoumenos of Menander* (BICS Suppl. No. 17: 1965), pp. 18-19.

The papyrus is now in Trinity College, Dublin (Pap. B 1). A preliminary transcript was made by R. A. Coles. I repeat 15 and 16 of 9v with some corrections and continue the numeration of that text.

- 15 ἔχει τὸ μναγίον τετάρτα <Ϸ> δέκα ζ̄, ιζ̄, ἡ δὲ τετά <ρ>τη ἔχει θέρμων
μὲν ζ̄,
κεράτια δὲ δώδεκα, ιβ̄, [ὁ δ]ἔ θέρμος ἔχει κεράτια β̄, ὥστε εἶναι τὸ{ν}
μνα-
γίον θέρμων μὲν ρζ̄, κερατίων δὲ ρρβ̄. ὀλκεί δὲ ἄγι τὸ{ν} μναγίον
(δραχμάς) η, ἡ δὲ τετράτη τριόβ[ο]λον, ὁ δὲ θέρμος ἡμιοβέλια, τὸ
δὲ κερατίων
χαλκοῦς β̄. ἔχει ἡ λίτρα ρ[ν]κεία <Ϸ> ιβ̄, ἡ δὲ ὀνκία{ν} ἔχει
<ἡ>μιόνκια μὲν β̄,
20 γράμματα δὲ κδ̄. [τ]ὸ δὲ ἡμιόνκειον ἔχει γράμματα ιβ̄,
ὥστε εἶναι τὴν λ[ίτ]ραν ἡμιονκίον μὲν κδ̄, γραμμάτων δὲ σπη.
ὀλκ{ε}ῆ δὲ ἄ <γ>ει ἡ [λίτρ]α (δραχμάς) ρζ̄, ἡ δὲ ὀν[κί]α{ν} (δραχμάς)
η, τὸ δὲ [ἡ]μιόνκειον (δραχμάς) δ,
τὸ δὲ γράμμω ὀβολοῦς δύο.

15 l. θέρμους 17 l. ὀλκῆ, ἄγι 18 l. τετάρτη, τριόβολον, ἡμιοβέλιον, κεράτιον 21 l. ἡμι-
ονγκίων, γραμμάτων 23 l. γράμμα

'The mnaeion has sixteen (16) quarters and the quarter has 6 thermoi, twelve (12) carats. The thermos has 2 carats, so that the mnaeion consists of 96 thermoi, 192 carats. The mnaeion weighs 8 drachmas, the quarter three obols, the thermos one-half obol, the carat 2 chalci. The litre has 12 ounces, and the ounce has 2 half-ounces, 24 grams. The half-ounce has 12 grams, so that the litre consists of 24 half-ounces, 288 grams. The litre weighs 96 drachmas, the ounce 8 dr., the half-ounce 4 dr., the gram two obols.'

15-17 Cf. 3455 28-35 and note.

17-23 These definitions are for the most part the standard ones: only the weight of the mnaeion (8 dr. = 1 oz.) was not known before. For the τετάρτη of 3 ob. (½ dr.) see MSR I 301. 8. Thermoi of 2 and of 1½ siliquae are attested in metrological writings (MSR II 180, s.v. θέρμος); ½ ob. per thermus in 18 implies the lighter weight, as 1 ob. = 3 sil.

3457-3460. METROLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

The following papyri add nothing to our knowledge of metrology, as the surviving portions are all covered by 9v + 3456, but they are printed here as specimens of further copies of what must have been current definitions of some common terms in Oxyrhynchus during the early centuries of this era. Preliminary transcripts of 3457-9 were made by R. A. Coles.

3457. METROLOGICAL FRAGMENT

38 3B.60/E (1-4)a

8.3 × 5.1 cm.

First/second century

Written along the fibres in an unligatured hand. The text corresponds to 9v + 3456 8-16, though the order of subjects treated is not always the same. The back is blank.

.

[.].ι.ι.]..[.].[
 [τὸ δ]ἔ μέτρον ἔχει χύν[ικας δ̄, ὥστε εἰ-]
 ναι τὴν ἀρτάβην χυν[ίκων μ̄. ἔχει ὁ μετρη-
 τῆς χόεις ἰβ̄, ὁ δὲ χόες ξ[χει κοτύλας ἰβ̄, ὥστε]
 5 εἶναι τὸν μετρητὴν [κοτυλῶν ρμδ̄. ἔχει ὁ]
 μέδιμνος ἡμίαικτα ἰβ̄, [τὸ δὲ ἡμίαικτον ἔχει]
 χοίνικας δ̄, ὥστε εἶναι τ[ὸν μέδιμνον χοινί-]
 κων μ̄η, ἔχει ὁ πῆχεις π[αλαιστὰς ζ̄, ὁ δὲ παλαι-]
 στῆς ἔχει δακτύλου[ς δ̄, ὥστε εἶναι τὸν πῆχυν]
 10 δακτύλων κδ̄. ἔχει τὸ [μναεῖον τετάρτας ἰς,]
 ἡ δὲ τ[ετάρτη ἔχει θέρμους

.

2 l. χοίνικας 3 l. χοινίκων 4 l. χόας, χόους 6 l. ἡμίεκτα, ἡμίεκτον 8 l. πῆχυς

'...and the metron has 4 choenices, so that the artaba consists of 40 choenices. The metretes has 12 choes and the chus has 12 cotylas, so that the metretes consists of 144 cotylas. The medimnus has 12 hemihekta and the hemihekton has 4 choenices, so that the medimnus consists of 48 choenices. The cubit has 6 palms and the palm has 4 digiti, so that the cubit consists of 24 digiti. The mnaeion has 16 quarters and the quarter has (4 or 6) thermoi...'

¹ The first preserved trace is probably 'Σ, 6,000, from a discussion of the divisions of a talent (cf. 9v 6-7). A plausible reading would be δρα-][[χμῶν] 'Σ, [ὁ]βολ[ῶν δὲ ς]δ['B ἡ ἀρτάβη ἔχει μέτρα ι], '(so that the talent consists of) 6,000 drachmas, 42,000 obols. The artaba has 10 metra', etc. The supplement at the end seems rather long, but it cannot well be shifted earlier in the line.

¹¹ The figure after θέρμους was presumably δ̄ (3455 33-4) or ζ̄ (3456 15, 3460 2-4).

3458. METROLOGICAL FRAGMENT

P. Oxy. A. 13B 4A/3

12 × 13 cm.

Third century

A very damaged text corresponding to 9v 5-14, written against the fibres on the back of a dozen mutilated lines from a cursive document. A few letters from three lines of a second column, at the level of col. i 10-12, do not warrant transcription.

[.] . . [.]
 ἡ δὲ μ[νᾶ ἔχει στατήρας κ̄ε,]
 δραχ[μὰς δὲ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ στα-]
 τήρ ἔ[χε]ι δραχμὰς δ̄, ὥ[στε]
 5 [εἶ]ναι τὸ τάλαντον στατήρω[ν]
 μὲν Ἀφ, δραχμῶν δὲ ὚, ὀβο-
 λῶν δὲ ς δ'Β. ἔχει ἡ ἀρτάβη μέ-
 [τρ]α δέκα, τὸ δὲ μέτρον ἔχει χοί-
 [νι]κας [δ̄, ὥς]τε εἶναι [τὴν] ἀρτά-
 10 [β]ην χ[οινί]κων μ̄. ἔχει ὁ μ[έ]δι-
 [μν]ος ἡμί[ε]κτα ἰβ̄, τὸ δὲ ἡμίεκτο(ν)
 ἔχει χοίν[ικ]ας δ̄, ὥστε εἶναι τὸν
 μέδιμνον [χο]ινίκων μ̄η. ἔχει [ὁ]
 πῆχυς παλ[ε]στὰς ζ̄, ὁ δὲ πα-
 15 λεστής ἔχ[ει] δακ[τύ]λους [δ̄, ὥς-]
 τε εἶναι τὸν [πῆχυν] δακτύλων κδ̄.]
 ἔ[χει] ὁ μετρητής χόας ἰβ̄, ὁ δὲ
 χοεῦς ἔχ[ει] κοτύλας ἰβ̄, ὥστε εἶ-
 ναι τὸν μ[ε]τρητὴν κοτυλῶν ρμδ̄.]

11 ημικτῶ 14 l. παλαιστὰς 14-15 l. παλαιστής 18 l. χούς

'... and the mina has 25 staters or one hundred drachmas, and the stater has 4 drachmas, so that the talent consists of 1,500 staters, 6,000 drachmas, 42,000 obols. The artaba has 10 metra and the metron has 4 choenices, so that the artaba consists of 40 choenices. The medimnus has 12 hemihekta and the hemihekton has 4 choenices, so that the medimnus consists of 48 choenices. The cubit has 6 palms and the palm has 4 digiti, so that the cubit consists of 24 digiti. The metretes has 12 choes and the chus has 12 cotylas, so that the metretes consists of 144 cotylas.'

6-7 ὀβολῶν δὲ ς δ'Β: counting 7 obols to the drachma, as 9v 2-3. Cf. L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton, 1949), 9 ff. and 46 ff.; P. Cair. Mich. 359, vol. II, pp. 7 ff.

3459. METROLOGICAL FRAGMENT

32 4B. 90/D (4-6)c

8 × 5 cm.

Third century

Written against the fibres on a strip of papyrus cut from a list of names with amounts of money in drachmas and obols. The column printed, corresponding to 9v 9-13, is complete on all sides. To the left, a few letters from the preceding column, describing the talent and the artaba, are preserved; to the right, traces from a column

of uncertain subject matter. The coronis occurs twice, once in each intercolumniation. Numerals are marked by a high dot to the right in addition to the usual superlinear stroke.

ii

ἔχει ὁ μέδιμνος ἡμί-
 εκτα ιβ̄, τὸ δὲ ἡμίεκτο(ν)
 ἔχει χοίνικας δ̄, ὥς-
 τε εἶναι τὸν μέδιμνο(ν)
 5 χοινίκων μ̄η .

>—————

ἔχει ὁ πῆχυς παλαιστὰ `c'
 ζ̄, ὁ δὲ παλαιστῆς ἔχει
 δακτύλους δ̄, ὥστε εἶ-
 ναι τὸν πῆχυν δακτύλων κδ̄'.

2 ημικετῶ 4 μεδιμνῶ

col. ii. 'The medimnus has 12 hemihekta and the hemihekton has 4 choenices, so that the medimnus consists of 48 choenices. The cubit has 6 palms and the palm has 4 digiti, so that the cubit consists of 24 digiti.'

5 The forked paragraphus beneath this line is accompanied by a coronis in both left and right margins.

3460. METROLOGICAL FRAGMENT

5 I B. 57/J(f)

9.5 × 4.5 cm.

Second/third century

These five lines preserve another instance of the τετάρτη reckoned as 6 θέρμοι; cf. 3456 15–16 and 3455 28–35 n. The text is written parallel to the fibres. On the back, remnants of a text written against the fibres.

.

[. . . .] μναγαῖον
 [τετάρτα]ς ιζ̄, ἡ δὲ
 [τετάρτ]η ἔχει
 θέρμους μὲν ζ̄,
 5 κεράτια δὲ [ζ̄] ιβ̄

5 ε in κεράτια corr. from α

'The mnaeion (has) 16 quarters and the quarter has 6 thermi, 12 carats.'

1 The space available suggests ἔχει¹[τὸ μὲν] μναγαῖον. The spelling μναγαῖον has already occurred in VI 905 6; cf. F. Gignac, *Grammar*, 1, 72.

2 There is a trace after δέ, probably an offset or stray ink.

V. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3461. RECORD OF TRANSFER TAX ON HOUSE

34 4B. 77/O (1-2)b

12.5 × 29.5 cm.

25 August 46 B.C.

A document recording details of the house and property bought by Ammonas son of Hierax from Diomedes and Charia, on which a transfer tax (ἐγκύκλιον) of 5% was payable, cf. UPZ II pp. 88 ff., P. Hib. 1 70(a) introd. The sale was not regarded as completed until this tax had been paid and the sale registered with the appropriate authority, at this time the agoranomus, cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 321.

The original sale in this case had been made 'according to Egyptian contracts', i.e. contracts drawn up in demotic following the provisions of Egyptian law, cf. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 319 n. 1. Typical examples are the demotic contracts from Socnopaeu Nesus published by E. A. E. Reymond in *Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 49 (1966-7) 464-96 and 52 (1969-70) 218-30. In cases of this type a summary of the contract was made in Greek and this served as the basis for the tax record, cf. UPZ II 163-9; 173-5; 182-4; 188.

The back of the papyrus is blank except for some smudges of ink down the right-hand edge.

βασιλέσσης Κλεοπάτρας
(ἔτους) ζ' Μεσο(ρή) κζ'.
(vac.)

'Αμμωνᾶς Ἰέρακ[ο]ς. τέλος
οἰκίας τριστέγου κ[...]ρος[.].
5 αὐλῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ ν[ό]του καὶ λιβικ(οῦ)
μέρος τῆς οἰκίας, πάντων βίκων
ἕξ ἡμίτου, ὡς ἐὰν [. . .]επιτ[.
καὶ τῆς εἰς ταῦται εἰσόδ(ου) καὶ [ἐξόδου
καὶ τῶν κυκρόντων [πάντων
10 ὄντων ἐν κόμῃ [. τῆς
μέσης τοπαρχίας, ἃς ἐωνήσατο
παρ(ὰ) Διομήδης [c. 10-15
καὶ Χαρίας [. . .] [c. 10 κατὰ
Αἰγ(υπτίας) κυνγρ(αφὰς) [. c. 15

1 l. βασιλέσσης 2 lζ' μεσ^ο 4 l. τριστέγου 5 λιβικ^κ? 6 l. μέρους 7 l. ἡμίτου 8 l.
ταύτας; εισο^δ 9 l. κυκρόντων 12 παρ^τ, l. Διομήδους 14 αιγ^τ κυνγρ^τ; l. κυγραφὰς

'Year six of Queen Cleopatra, Mesore 26.

'Ammonas son of Hierax: tax on a three-storeyed house... a courtyard on the south-western side of the house, in all six and a half *bikoi*... and rights of entrance and exit to these and all appurtenances, situated in the village of... in the Middle toparchy, which he purchased from Diomedes son of... and from Charia... according to Egyptian contracts...'

1-2 The date has been converted according to the tables of P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne* (P. Lugd-Bat. xv), 9-18.

4 After]ροϛ the remains look most like an eta; not therefore, καὶ τῆς προσούσης, cf. F. Luckhardt, *Privathaas*, 53. Just possible is κ[αὶ π]ροϛκ[υρ]ούσης, cf. BGU I 275. 6, but this would be cramped.

5 For the courtyard as an integral part of the dwelling see *Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 48 (1965-6) 459-60, Taubenschlag, *Law*², 243.

6 The extent of the *bikos* is still unknown, cf. XLVII 3334. 8 n.

7 ἡμίμον. For this form of the genitive see Mayser I ii² 55.

ὡς ἐάν .[. .]ςπιτ[. After nu the traces look like omega. The context suggests a formula covering a slight variation in the area of the property, e.g. (measurement) so many ἢ ὅσοι ἐάν ὤσω ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἔλαττον. This formula, which is quite common in property contracts, is found with a number of variations such as P. Lond. II 401. 12 (p. 14), BGU II 543. 5, IV 1158. 9, P. Tebt. II 382. 13, cf. H. H. July, *Die Klauseln hinter den Massangaben der Papyrusurkunden*, but I have been unable to find a precise parallel. For constructions of this type with present and aorist subjunctive after ἐάν see Mayser II i 263-5.

9 κυκρόντων. For loss of nasal before kappa see Mayser I i² 164. On the transfer of appurtenances see Taubenschlag, *Law*², 243 n. 16, K. Durst, *Zubehör und Unternehmen im Rechte der Papyri* (Giessen, 1938), 32 ff.

12 The gap contained Diomedes' patronymic, perhaps preceded by τοῦ.

13 Perhaps τ[ῆ]ς [γυναϊκός or τ[ῆ]ς [ἀδελφῆς vel sim.

13-14 κατὰ Αἰγ(υπτίας) κυκρ(αφάς). For the supplement and the expansion of the abbreviations cf. P. Hib. I 70(b). 4-6.

14 .[. After rho there is the lower left tip of a diagonal; restore perhaps χ[αλκοῦ, followed by the price of the house and the amount of transfer tax payable on it, cf. UPZ II 164, 165.

3462. ACCOUNT

34 4B. 77/O (3-4)a

16.5 × 15 cm.

First century B.C.

Only the foot and the ends of twelve lines of this account survive. The handwriting looks late Ptolemaic or early Roman, cf. M. Norsa, *Scrittura documentarie*, Tav. IX (PSI VIII 968), R. Seider, *Paläographie d. griech. Papyri*, I no. 20. The back is blank.

The unit of account is represented by an abbreviation of unknown meaning, consisting of rho with a superscript arch which is probably a vestigial pi, see 2 n. This is followed by two figures. Where these are not identical, the second is the lower, suggesting that the first was an assessment, the second a figure valid at the time of writing. The units are booked to inhabitants of Oxyrhynchite villages, in one case to the elders of the village, and this is possibly to be understood in the other cases.

In 5 a new section begins with a heading, 'To the elders of Pela for the *diazoma* of Paimis'. The word *διάζωμα* has not appeared before in the papyri, and the only clue to its meaning here is that a canal is mentioned above in what may be a similar heading (2). It is used in Aristotle to refer to the diaphragm, and one of the other meanings of *διάφραγμα* is a lock in a canal, see especially Diod. Sic. I 33 *ad fin.* Canal

and 'lock', if rightly interpreted, suggest that the papyrus has to do with work on the irrigation system. If so, one would expect the unit to be either the *ναύβιον*, a cubic measure, or the *αχοίνιον*, a linear measure. Perhaps (π)ρ() is a part of or a cognate of *προστίθημι*, indicating that these are additional units required from the villagers above their usual annual obligation, cf. P. Petrie III p. 343 line 74.

There is an interesting comparison to be made between this text and P. Mich. inv. 412r, published in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 133-7, which contains a record of linear work on a canal assigned to various Oxyrhynchite villages, including three mentioned here. The editor pointed out in 12-24 n. that the amount of work was assigned in accordance with the size of the villages. The figures for the three villages can be tabulated as follows.

	3462		P. Mich.	
Pela	75	75	54½	schoenia
Seryphis	60	40	20	schoenia
Paimis	15	15 (30?)	10	schoenia

It is not surprising that the ratios are not exactly the same, since P. Mich. is of the late third or early fourth century A.D. They are near enough to favour the idea that the figures in 3462 represent the assessment of a levy on the villages according to their size.

The two villages mentioned in 4 and 5 in connexion with a hitherto unknown canal called Munthoteu are of the Lower toparchy, those in lines 5-10, where identifiable, are of the Western toparchy. The fact that they are in the same area geographically but fall administratively into two different toparchies suggests that the account was concerned only with a particular locality. Had it dealt with the whole nome, one might expect to have found the villages listed according to the official order of the toparchies, running from south to north, cf. X 1285, XIV 1659, 1747. The Lower toparchy would then have come last.

.

] καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εἰ [.]

] . . [. .] . . . ω () καὶ Μουνθοτεῦ διώρυγα (π)ρ() [.] ν

τοῖς ἀπ]δὲ Σιναρὺ (π)ρ() ξ μ

.] () Ἰ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρύφωνος Ἰσι(είου) (π)ρ() ξ μ

5 τοῖς ἀ]πὸ Πέλ(α) πρεσβυτέροις ὥστε εἰς τὸ τῆς

] Παῖμε(ως) διάζωμ(α) (π)ρ() ρε οε

] τοῖς ἀπὸ Σερ() ὁμοίως (π)ρ() ξ μ

τοῖ]ς ἀπὸ Ζ. ω () (π)ρ() κξ κε

τοῖ]ς ἀπὸ Παῖμε(ως) (π)ρ() ιε ιε ' . '

10 το]ίς ἀπὸ Σενοκ(ώμεως) (π)ρ() ιε ιε
 (γίνονται) Ἀχι
] (ὦν?) φκ^με τρ (γίνονται) λ λ

2]...ω, ρ̂ - also in 3-4, 6-10 4 .., ις 5 πελ^ι 6 παιμ^ε διαζω^ι 7 σερ^ι 8 ζ.ω
 9 παιμ^ε 10 σενοκ 11 / Ἀχι 12 / φκ^με, / λ λ

'...and to those from the... and Munthoteu canal	pr()	?	50
To those from Sinary	pr()	60	40
...to those from Tryphonis Isieum	pr()	60	40
To the elders from Pela for the lock(?) of Paimis	pr()	75	75
To those from Ser(yphis?) likewise	pr()	60	40
To those from Z...	pr()	25	25
To those from Paimis	pr()	15	15, 30(?)
To those from Senocomis	pr()	15	15
Total 1,610,			
of which(?) 540 (plus) 390 total 930.'			

2 At the beginning διαζω(μα) cannot be read, though the basic form of the entry may be parallel to 5-6, i.e. τοῖς ἀπὸ... ὥστε εἰς... διώρυγα. The letter before the raised omega may be kappa.

Μουνθοτεῦ. The name is not listed in WB s.v. διώρυξ or in Abschnn. 16(a) and 23, nor is it in NB or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. The element *Μουν-* may represent an Egyptian word for new land formed by silting, cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, 172. *Θοτεύς* is a common personal name, of which *Θοτεῦ* may be the short genitive, cf. XLIII 3102 5 n., cf. *JJP* 18 (1974) 161, note to line 9.

In the abbreviation (π)ρ() the rho is surmounted by a rounded arch which looks like a cursive pi. Similar abbreviations are known to represent words beginning with πρ-, such as πρὸ, πρᾶγμα, πρόβατον, see P. Lond. I index 6(b), RE IIA col. 2304. They are used for πρo- in compounds, see XL 2915 20 n., P. Lond. III index 8(b), and even represent whole words compounded with πρὸς, e.g. πρ(ο)βέβηκεν, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II, 745, and πρ(ο)διαγραφόμενα, see P. Lond. III index 8(b).

It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that (π)ρ(όβατα) could be intended here, for the double entries might indicate a comparison with the numbers of sheep declared for a previous registration, but in that case it is difficult to see what relevance the canal and 'lock' have, see introd.

In some abbreviations rho has its numerical value of 100, e.g. ρ = (ἐκατοντάρ)χ(ης). One sort of schoenion, the *ἱερατικὸν* c., has 100 cubits, but π(η)χῶν ἐκατόν seems an unlikely way out of the difficulty.

4 The traces at the beginning of the line suggest an entry similar to the others, running τοῖς ἀ]πὸ Ἀπ.(), but there is no known place-name which suits. It is also hard to find a suitable expansion for the L-shaped symbol, which might mean (ἔτος), (ἤμισυ) or (ὦν), see RE IIA cols. 2305, 2306, 2297, W. Gdz. p. xlv. The letter after Ἀπ is superscript, and might possibly be epsilon or eta.

5 πρεσβύτεροι. Cf. perhaps P. Petrie III p. 341 πρεσβύτεροι οἱ τὰ χῶματα καὶ περιχώματα φυλάσσοντες. For village elders in general see BAB 38 (1952) 95-130, 467-532.

For ὥστε εἰς see E. Mayer, *Grammatik*, II. 3 p. 97.

6 διαζωμ(α). See introd. The village of Paimis was north of Oxyrhynchus and very close to it, see XII 1475. 22 n.

7 Σερ(). The form of the abbreviation, an L-shaped sign raised above rho, recalls the so-called 'Hakenalpha', see *Archiv* I (1900-1) 362, and suggests that alpha should be the next letter. However, Σερ(ύφως) is a very likely expansion, since this is the name of a large village in the Western toparchy, the toparchy into which Pela, Paimis, and Senocomis also fall.

8 Ζ. ω(). No suitable place-name is known. Possibly ζκω() = (Ἑπτα)κω(μίας) might be intended, but the only known villages of this name are in the Apollonopolite and Sebennyte nomes, see WB Abschn. 16(a) s.v.

9 The small superscript letter suits α = 1 or λ = 30. In one way λ = 30 would be helpful, because the alteration of 15 to 30 here would correspond very well with the alteration in line 12 of 525 to 540.

On the other hand it would destroy the regularity by which the first figure in each entry is always as large as or larger than the second, see introd. Since the *diazoma* was in Paimis, see 5-6, the villagers may have felt that it was in their interest to do more than the assessed amount.

12 The first symbol is a tall upright slightly inclined to the right. The foot, which descends below the base-line, is finished with a sharp hook upwards to the right. It is probably the equivalent of the L-shaped symbol for $\acute{\omega}\nu$, cf. 4 n.

The sum $540 + 390 = 930$ shows that the superscript μ was intended to alter 525 into 540, although $\kappa\epsilon$ has not been cancelled, cf. 9, where $\lambda = 30$ perhaps replaces the uncanceled $\iota\epsilon = 15$. The change in 12 looks like the consequence of the one in 9. Perhaps, therefore, the total 1,610 in line 11 is the total assessed, 930 the total reached to date, but it is not clear why there are two sub-totals of 540 and 390. On the other hand 540 might be the total of the first set of figures in each entry and 390 the total of the second. In that case the totalling of the figures would show that the hypothesis of assessment and performance was wrong, and that the change in 12 was not the consequence of the one in 9. It would also be difficult to explain the larger total in 11.

3463. APPLICATION FOR THE EPHEBATE

36 4B.92/H (1-2)a

14.5 × 36.5 cm.

Between 10 January
and 29 August A.D. 58

An application by Heracleides, an Alexandrian citizen presumably resident in Oxyrhynchus, concerning the admission of his son Theon as an ephebus: on Alexandrians in the Chora see H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, 55-8 and 113-22; on the Alexandrian ephebate, P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 150-60, W. Gdz. 139 ff., O. Montevecchi, *Papirologia*, 183-4.

The papyrus is broken at the top left-hand corner and badly rubbed down the right-hand edge. There are large margins, with 7 cm. left blank at the top, 16.5 cm. at the bottom, and 2.3 cm. down the left-hand side. The writing, done in a smallish practised cursive similar to M. Norsa, *Scrittura Documentaria*, Tav. XIV (top left), but with more ligaturing, therefore takes up less than half the sheet. The writer possibly expected the addressee to add a subscription dealing with his case. In the last four lines the writing becomes noticeably thinner and more difficult to read, suggesting that the scribe may have re-sharpened his pen at this point. The back is blank.

This piece is a useful addition to our knowledge of the process whereby boys were received into the Alexandrian ephebate, which was the customary method of entry to the Alexandrian citizenship during the Roman period, see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I 77.

There are several applications for admission to the Alexandrian ephebate (W. Chr. 144 = III 477; SB IV 7333; PSI XII 1225 - with corrections in *BASP* 12 (1975) 122-5; *JJP* 18 (1974) 177-8) and a recent study by C. A. Nelson in *Akten XIII Int. Pap. Kongresses*, 309-14, has discussed the various steps and groups of officials involved in the process. In addition W. Chr. 143 (P. Flor. I 57 = III 382). 67-91 and SB V 7561 give some idea of the details.

The present document, however, differs from the normal applications in several respects. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the statement that at a ceremony held

in the Great Serapeum of Alexandria the boy had had his long hair cut off in honour of the city, see 6 n. His qualifications were deficient in at least three respects: he had not been presented at any of the presentation ceremonies held previously (*παραστάσει* 19, another hitherto unknown feature of the procedure); his name was not in the lists of intending ephebes (*μέλλακες* 20); and he lacked certain documentary proofs of his status (*χρόνοι* 21).

In the normal cases the applicant asked the exegetes and his colleagues to order *τοῖς πρὸς τούτοις οὖσι* to tell *οἷς καθήκει* to instruct the cosmetes and gymnasiarch to admit the boy. (For the identity of these unnamed officials see the discussion in the article by C. A. Nelson mentioned above.) In this case the applicant asked the exegetes to give orders directly to the cosmetes and gymnasiarch to admit the boy on the evidence of the official record of the ceremony of cutting his hair. The exegetes was also asked to verify this record and then to give instructions to other persons, whose titles are obscured by damage to the text, see 14 n., 15 n. The phrase is not *τοῖς πρὸς τούτοις οὖσι* or *οἷς καθήκει*; perhaps the most likely thing is that it covered both categories. In any case the exegetes was to tell them to subscribe the documents relating to the admission of the boy as an ephebe and not to raise difficulties because of the three deficiencies in his qualifications described above. The last three and a half lines, after a change to a thinner point, are not yet fully deciphered. There is a reference to the boy's *ἀπαρχή*, see 22 n., and a mention of an Alexandrian tribe and deme.

*Τιβεριῶι Κλαυ]δίωι Π[ο]τάμωι ἱερεῖ ὑπομνηματογράφωι
καὶ ἐξηγητῆι γενομένωι ἀρχι]δικαστῆι καὶ στρ[α]τηγῶ τῆς πόλεωσ
κα]ὶ τοῖς Καίσα]ρ[είοις] καὶ τοῖς ἄλλ[ο]ις [π]ρυτάνεσι (vac.)
παρὰ Ἑρακ[λεί]δου τοῦ Ἑρακλείδου Ἀλθαιέωσ τῶν τὸ δωδέκατον
ἔτο[ς]*

5 *Τιβερίου Καίσα]ρος] Σεβαστοῦ ἐφηβευκότων. ὁ γεγονώς μοι ἐκ Ποσει-
δωνίας τῆς [.]. ολλ. .ου ἀστῆς υἱὸς Θέων ἐκάρη τὸν μαλλὸν κατὰ
τιμὴν τῆς πόλεωσ τῆ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Τύβι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
ἔτους ἐν τῶ [μ]εγάλω Σεραπιδείῳ παρόντος τοῦ ἱερέωσ καὶ ὑπο-
[μ]νηματογ[ρ]άφου καὶ ἐξηγητοῦ. ἀκολουθῶσ δὲ τοῖς γεγονόσι ὑπο-
10 *μνηματις[μ]οῖς <ς>ου καὶ βουλόμενος τὰ τῆς εἰσκρίσεωσ ἐπιτελε[ῖν]
εἰς τοὺς τὸ ἐ[νε]στὸς τέταρτον ἔτος Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γε[ρ]μανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος ἐφήβους ἀξιῶ συντάξαι
τῶ τε κοσμ[ητ]ῆι καὶ τῶ γυμνασιάρχωι τοῖς οὖσι προσδέξασθαι
αὐτὸν εἰς τ[οὺς] τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτ[ο]ς ἐφήβους καὶ ἐπισκεψαμεν . . . τοῖς
15 *προκειμέν[ου]ς ὑπομνηματιμοὺς εἰπεῖν τοῖς
ὑπογράψαι μ[οι] τοὺς πρὸς τὴν εἰσκρισιν καὶ ἐφηβείαν αὐτοῦ χρη-***

μ[α]τιςμούς, ἐπικριθέντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοῦτ[ο] τὸ ὑπόμνημα
 ἐπιστέλλον[το] ἀναγνώστου, μὴ παραποδίσαι παρ' ὅσον οὐ
 παρεστάθ[η] ἐπὶ τῶν ἀχθειῶν παραστάσεων οὐδ' ἐστὶν
 20 ἐν ταῖς τῶ[ν] μ[ε]λλάκων γραφαῖς μηδὲ παρ' ὅσον ἐνλείπει
 τινὰς χρό[νο]υς ἐκ τοῦ .[.]...ου τοῦ α...γωνος τῶν ἐκ...
 ...].απ.[...]...ων...[...].φης τέταγμαὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπαρχῆ.
 .[.]...[.]αυτου...[.κ]ορμείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαιέως, ἔν' ὧ
πεφιλανθρ[ωπ]ημένος.

'To [Tiberius Clau]dius Potamon(?) priest, hypomnematographus [and exegetes, former archi]-
 dicastes and strategus of the city, and to the Caesarei and the other prytaneis, from Heracleides son of
 Heracleides, of the Althaeian deme, one of those who entered the ephebate in the twelfth year of Tiberius
 Caesar Augustus. My son Theon, born to Poseidonia daughter of... citizeness, had his long hair cut
 off in honour of the city on the fifteenth of Tybi of the present year in the Great Serapeum, in the presence
 of the priest and hypomnematographus and exegetes. In accordance with your records made on that
 occasion and in the desire to complete the formalities of induction into the ephebes of the present fourth
 year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, I request (you) to order the cosmetes
 and the gymnasiarch currently in office to admit him to the ephebes of the same year, and, after examining
 the aforesaid records, to tell the... to subscribe for me the documents relating to his induction and
 ephebate, since he has been scrutinized by the reader who sends this memorandum, without their raising
 obstacles inasmuch as he has not been presented at the presentations which have taken place and is not
 in the lists of intending ephebes, or inasmuch as he is lacking certain extracts from the records...'

1 *Τιβερίωι Κλαυ]δίωι*. Iota, omega and iota are certain. Delta is less sure, but the scribe regularly
 makes this letter with the diagonals crossing at the top and this fits the traces here. The name would
 be a fitting one given the status of the official and the date of the document. At this time Roman citizenship
 in Egypt was the personal gift of the emperor, whose names the new citizen would take, so that Potamon
 may have been one of those granted citizenship by Claudius, cf. XXVII 2471 3 n. As an Alexandrian
 citizen he was already a step on the way to Roman citizenship: Pliny, *Epp.* vi. 7. 10. A Claudius Potamon
 appears in XLVI 3271 2, but there is no reason to identify him with this official.

ὑπομνηματογράφωι: an office of great importance at Alexandria, dating from Ptolemaic times, and
 involving the superintendence of the prefect's chancery: XII 1412 1-3 n., cf. P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*,
 340-2, P. Collomp, *Chancellerie*, 32 ff. and 47-8. I follow the view of F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 351-4, that
 there was only one type of hypomnematographus. For a summary of other views, see P. Oxy. XL p. 31,
 and, for a general discussion of the various Alexandrian officials, P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*,
 I 93-105, especially 96-8.

2 καὶ ἐξηγητῆι. For the supplement cf. 8-9 *παρόντος τῷ ἱερέως καὶ ὑπο[μ]νηματογ[ρ]άφου καὶ ἐξηγητοῦ*,
 9-10 *τοῖς... ὑπομνηματι[μ]οῖς <ε>ου*. The parallels show that the document is addressed to an exegetes.
 Two of them also have other offices held at the same time, in one case the neocorate (W. Chr. 144 = III
 477), in the other the supervision of the chrematistae, etc. (SB IV 7333). See also W. Chr. 143. 75-6,
 where the exegetes is also neocorus and ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθηνίας.

ἀρχι]δικαστῆι. For discussion of the functions of the archidicastes and list of known holders of the
 office, see A. Calabi, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 406-24. The latest list, in which Potamon does not appear, is
 in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones*, 103-55.

στρ[α]τηγῶ τῆς πόλεως: captain of the civil guard at Alexandria, a Ptolemaic royal and later an
 Imperial appointment but ranking much lower in power and status than the strategi of the nomes, cf.
 P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 193-5, F. Bilabel, *RE* IVA i (1931) 247-9, R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 575,
 A. H. M. Jones, *CERP*², 474-5, nn. 8 and 10.

3 The traces at the beginning of the line are minimal and not certainly parts of the letters to which they are assigned, but they show that the address (1-3) was set out to the left, cf. e.g. PSI XII 1225.

τῶ[ις Καίσα]ρ[εῖοις]: the imperial nominees included in Roman times on the executive board of the prytaneis, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *CERP*², 303. For earlier interpretations see W. *Gdz.* 47, W. *Chr.* 144. 5 n., P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 157.

4 Ἀλθαιέως: originally in the tribe Dionysia but later associated with a number of tribes, see below 23 n. On the Alexandrian demes in general see P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 121-50, P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I 39-46, and cf. P. Oxy. XXVII 2465, a fragment of Satyrus, *On the Demes of Alexandria*. Although Alexandrian citizens often referred to themselves simply as Ἀλεξανδρεῖς or πολῖται in Ptolemaic times, and as ἄστοι in Roman times, the demotic always remained the correct designation for an Alexandrian to use in official documents, see *JEA* 48 (1962) 122-3.

4-5 Year 12 Tiberius = A.D. 25/6. The designation of the year in which Heracleides obtained his citizenship through the ephebate, together with his patronymic and demotic, enables the authorities to check his name in the ephebic records, a necessary step in establishing his son's entitlement to citizen status, cf. P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 150-60.

5 The omicron of the article of ὁ γεγονώς is written roughly double the size of the other letters, indicating the beginning of the petition. For the use of a large initial letter to begin a new section, cf. III 473 2 = E. G. Turner, *GMAW*, no. 69.

6 [.] ολλ., ου. The writing between λλ and ου looks like a cursive phi with the roundel entirely to the left of the vertical or like omega ligatured to a large iota. One might suspect that the name was [Ἀ]πολλωνίου with ωνι written so fast that the nu actually disappeared. The position would also suit ἀδελφῆς, see III 477 (= W. *Chr.* 144). 13, but this cannot be read.

ἀστῆς: i.e. a citizeness of Alexandria, the normal meaning of the word at this period, cf. *RIDA* 4 (1950) 7-20, *JEA* 48 (1962) 120, P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II 116, n. 24. Heracleides states that his wife is an *aste* in order to prove his son's right to Alexandrian citizenship.

ἐκάρη τὸν μαλλόν. LSJ s.v. μαλλός (2) gives 'tress Hsch.', which is misleading, though 'tresses' might do, because Hesychius says that μαλλός means simply long hair; μαλλός. τὸ ἔριον. καὶ ἡ καθεμένη κόμη κτλ. For the whole phrase cf. Hesych. s.v. οἰνιστηρία. Ἀθήνησιν οἱ μέλλοντες ἐφηβεύειν, πρὶν ἀποκείρασθαι (read ἀποκείρεσθαι?) τὸν μαλλόν, εἰσέφερον Ἡρακλεῖ μέτρον οἴνου κτλ. Cf. Athen. XI 494 f., Photius, *Lex.* s.v. οἰνιστηρία (= Eupolis, fr. 135 Kock = 102 Edmonds), Pollux VI 22 (οἰνιστηρία).

This phrase throws a new light on τοὺς μαλλοκουρή[τας?], (or -ή[τους?]), XXIV 2407 38, emended in the note there to μελλο-, on the evidence of XII 1484, an invitation to dinner ὑπὲρ μελλοκουρίων τῶν [ἀδελφῶν?] ἐν τῷ Θ[ο]ρηείῳ. A photograph shows that the second letter of the key word is very rapidly written, but μαλλοκουρίων is a possible reading and one strongly suggested by the present document. For [ἀδελφῶν?] a more plausible conjecture would be [υἰῶν μου?].

P. Lond. inv. 3078 may suggest that a celebration of a similar kind was held for girls, see *JEA* 61 (1975) 251-4. However, in that document εἰς μελλο- or μαλλοκού]ρια τῆς θ[υγατρὸς ἑαυτοῦ] is not a certain restoration.

7 11 January A.D. 58. The year is given in line 11.

8 τῷ [μ]εγάλῳ Σεραπιδείῳ: the main Alexandrian temple of Serapis situated on Rhacotis Hill; the epithet distinguishes it from other Serapea in or just outside the city, A. Calderini, *Diz. geogr.* s.v. 'Alexandria', P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I 268-70 and II 83-91, nn. 190-1. On the form Σεραπίδειον see R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, I 163, note on *Diag.* IV. 4.

παρόντος τῶν ἱερέως. This seems to be the best interpretation of the damaged writing, but comparison with the partially preserved address (ἱερεῖ ὑπομνηματογράφῳ... 1) and with the reference to the addressee's record of proceedings (ὑπομνηματις[μ]οῖς <ς>ου, 9-10) suggests that we ought to correct it to παρόντος <σοῦ> τοῦ ἱερέως κτλ.

9 ἐξηγητοῦ. On this official see P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 315-18, F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 325-9, A. H. M. Jones, *CERP*², 303 and 474, n. 8.

10 ἐπιτελεῖ[ν]. The parallels use τελειοῦν in this connexion, see SB IV 7333. 35, *JJP* 18 (1974) 178 (line 8), W. *Chr.* 144 (= III 477). 19 (with BL II 95). In PSI XII 1225. 15-16 τελοῦσι should be corrected to τελιοῦσι = τελιοῦσι, as Dr Pintaudi kindly confirmed from the original. The compound ἐπιτελειοῦν has not so far appeared in the papyri, see *ZPE* 18 (1975) 214 and n. 2.

11 Year 4 Nero = A.D. 57/8.

13 τῶ τε κοσμ[ητ]ῆι καὶ τῶ γυμνασιάρχῳ. It is they who would have been responsible for undertaking the training of the new ephebe, see C. A. Nelson, *Akten XIII Int. Pap. Kongresses*, 309–14. Nelson sees these officials solely as ephebic supervisors, with no hand in the certification of the ephebe, but the eiskrisis application published by R. A. Coles, *JJP* 18 (1974) 177–8, seems to me to stand outside this theory, in that in lines 5–7 the applicant promises to see that the gymnasiarch is satisfied when he returns from his journey. This suggests that the gymnasiarch too may have had some interest in the bureaucratic side of these cases.

14 ἐπισκεψαμεν . . . τῶς. The remains are very scanty. The introduction assumes either ἐπισκεψάμενον (sc. ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξηγητήν), cf. 9–10 ὑπομνηματικ[μ]οῖς <ς>ου, or ἐπισκεψαμένων, since the application is addressed to other officials also, and since three of the parallels have ὑμᾶς before συντάξαι in the place where ours has ἀξιῶ συντάξαι, see W. Chr. 144 (= III 477). 15, *JJP* 18 (1974) 178 (line 2), PSI XII 1225. 12. So too SB IV 7333. 30 probably reads ἀξιῶ ὑ[μ]ᾶς συντάξαι rather than ἀξιῶ σ[υντάξαι] γράψαι, as Dr G. Poethke kindly reports from the original. Much less likely is ἐπισκεψαμένων referring to the cosmetes and gymnasiarch, since it would be odd for the exegetes to instruct them to check his records.

15 τῶς See introd. for a guess about the sense. The damage is extensive, but the right suggestion could probably be verified.

17–18 ἐπικριθέντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοῦτ[ο] τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἐπιστέλλον[το]ς ἀναγνώστου. The last word appears in the papyri frequently as meaning a Christian lector, a clerk in minor orders, but only once in any other sense. P. Berl. Möller I = SB IV 7338 is a contract to settle a dispute about a deposit between two ladies, each of whom acts through her own male representative (συνεστίας). Near the end both declare that they are illiterate and have appointed one man to be their ἀναγνώστης: προφερόμεναι δὲ αἱ αὐταὶ γράμματα μὴ εἶδέναι παρέστησαν ἑαυταῖς ἀναγνώστην Αὐρήλιον (blank for c. 15 letter-spaces) [. It is possible that the reader was the official in charge of the notarial office of the locality, i.e. restore after the space left blank for the insertion of the name [τὸν – τοῦ ed. pr. – πρὸς τῶ γραφεῖ[ω]. But this is only a guess. It is not certain what function the reader performed there, see P. Berl. Möller p. 20 for a complicated suggestion. Perhaps it is simplest to suppose that the reader's job was to certify that the written version actually did represent the intention of the parties. Here the function of the reader is even more obscure. The scrutiny for Alexandrian citizenship should be conducted by a high official, not somebody supplying the deficiencies of an illiterate applicant. The best guess I can make is that the reader was an official on the staff of the exegetes who scrutinized the boy's qualifications and is to read this application and transmit it to the officials who are to be asked to furnish subscriptions. This is far from compelling; it is certain that new evidence is needed to enable us to understand these processes. That ἀναγνώστης is sometimes an official title is shown by epigraphical references, see LSJ s.v. for ἀ. τῆς πόλεως, ἀ. τῆς γερουσίας, and *RÉG* 47 (1934) 243 for ἀ. τοῦ δήμου.

19 παραστάσεων. These are hitherto unattested. Perhaps the best guess is that they were ceremonies during which the candidates for the ephebate were presented to representatives of the tribe or deme they aspired to enter. A similar case is the presentation of younger children, which helped to establish their status as sons of Antinoite citizens, see P. Fam. Tebt. 30. 1–2 . . . ἐντ[ὸ]ς τῆς ὠριμένης προθεσμίας ὑπομν[ή]ματα τῆι βουλῆι² δεδωκό[τ]ων, ἄτερο[ν] δὲ παραστησάντων τοὺς παῖδας. The details of this process too are unknown.

20 μ[ε]λλάκων. See P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I 86, II 166 (n. 326).

21 After χρόνου the writing becomes thinner, as if the scribe had sharpened his pen. On the χρόνος ἐφηβείας see *BASP* 14 (1977) 29–38.

22 Read perhaps ἀφ' ἧς τέταγμα αὐτοῦ ἀπαρχῆς, 'in virtue of(?) his aparche, which I have paid(?)'. The aparche is simultaneously the act, fee, and certificate of registration of a male child as a potential ephebe, or a female child as an ἀστή, cf. H. J. Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages*, 41 n. 149, H. I. Bell, *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 521, 8 n., P. Fam. Tebt. 33. 8 n. As such it was an important document to prove the child's eligibility for the ephebate, as W. Chr. 143. 81–2 and P. Tebt. II 316 ii 9–11, iii 48–50, iv 82–4 demonstrate.

23 . . . [κ]ρμείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαίεως. The Althaeian deme is found associated with a number of tribes from the latter part of the first century, cf. A. Calderini, *Diz. geogr.*, 215–16 s.v. Either the Neocosmian or Sosicosmian tribe could be read here, since the spacing and traces are indecisive. This is the earliest

example of the Althaeon deme being mentioned in a 'Doppelangabe' of tribe and deme, cf. W. Schubart, *APF* 5 (1913) 83.

23-4 ἴν' ὃ περιλανθρ[ωπ]ημένος. The same phrase is used to end two of the normal applications, W. *Chr.* 144 (= III 477) and SB IV 7333.

3464. APPLICATION FOR A SUMMONS

36 4B. 92/H (4)a

16.5 × 27 cm.

c. A.D. 54-60

A petition of the type known as *παραγγελία*, *litis denuntiatio*, cf. XXXVIII 2852 introd. It is addressed to C. Iulius Asinianus, strategus of Heracleides' district of the Arsinoite nome, by one Mnesitheus, who asks for a summons to be served on Heration and an accomplice, whose name is lost, in connexion with a dispute over the ownership of land belonging to his wife Maronis. There is no obvious reason why the document should have reached Oxyrhynchus.

The petitioner and his wife and the block of land involved occur also in XLVII 3332. The lady is called Tamaron there, and Maronis in 3464¹, but the husband Mnesitheus son of Theon and the six aruras of vineland are the same in both texts. Two more references to the husband are given in 3332 4 n., to wit XLI 2972 and XLIV 3163. In all four cases the inventory numbers are the same as far as 36 4B. 92/H, which indicates that they were found together and are probably the remains of a small private archive.

The application is written in a medium-sized cursive, comparable to R. Seider, *Paläographie d. gr. Papyri*, I no. 23, or P. Ryl. II 95. A subscription has been added in a second hand, a small semi-cursive. This part of the papyrus is very broken and little can be made of the few letters which survive. The back is blank, so far as it is preserved.

In A.D. 53/4 Mnesitheus had summoned Heration and others to answer charges. Heration's co-defendants had duly appeared before C. Iulius Iollas (?), the Alexandrian gymnasiarch who was appointed to judge the case by the prefect Geta, and the ownership of Maronis had been confirmed. Heration himself had failed to attend. He still did not appear even when he was summoned by the prefect's public notice. Mnesitheus went off on a journey, since no date for a hearing had been fixed, and now, having returned to find Heration, with an accomplice whose name is lost, trying once again to appropriate Maronis' property, he asks for his adversaries to be summoned to attend the *conventus* of the new prefect, Balbillus.

Γαΐωι Ἰουλίωι Ἀσινιανῶ[ι] στρατηγῶι
 Ἀρσινοΐτου
 παρὰ Μνησιθέου τοῦ Θέωνος. ἐξ ἧς ἐποιησάμην

¹ Since Ta- prefixed in Demotic Egyptian = 'daughter of', these data can be easily reconciled, and provide reliable and interesting evidence of a bilingual middle-class family. The lady was known indifferently as Tamaron, as *θυγάτηρ Μάρωνος*, and as *Μαρωνίς*. (E. G. Turner).

- τῶι τεσσαρεσκαιδ[εκ]άτωι ἔτει θεοῦ Κλαυδίου ἐγκλήσεω(ς)
 5 καὶ διαστρωλικοῦ μεταδόσεωσ κατὰ τε ἐτέρων ἀνδρῶν
 καὶ κατὰ Ἡ[ρ]ατίωνο[ς τ]οῦ Μάρωνοσ ὡσ οὐ δεόντωσ ἐπικρα-
 τούντω[ν] τῶν τῆσ γυναικόσ μου Μαρωνίδοσ ὑπαρχόντ(ων)
 τοῦ] μὲν Ἡ[ρ]ατίωνοσ περὶ Λητοῦσ πόλιν τῆσ Ἡρακλείδοσ με(ρίδοσ)
 γῆ]ς ἀμπε[λί]τιδοσ ἀρ[ο]υρῶν ἕξ, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐτέρω(ν)
 10 τῆ]σ Μαρων[ί]δοσ ὑ[π]αρχόντων, ἔσχον ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων
 ἀ]πὸ Λουκ[ί]ου Λουκίο[υ] Γέτα τοῦ προηγεμονεύσαντοσ κρίτη(ν)
 Γάϊον Ἰούλ[ι]ον Ἰόλλαν ἱερέα καὶ γυμνασίαρχον Ἀλεξανδρεία(ς),
 ὃσ διακούσασ ἐμοῦ [τ]ε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔστησεν μείναι
 τῆι γυναικ[ί] μου τῆ]ν κυρείαν ἀκολούθωσ οἰσ ἔχωι
 15 ὑπομνημα[τισμοί]σ. ἀφανοῦσ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρατίωνοσ γενομέ(νου)
 καὶ ἐπὶ τ[ῆ]σ δίκησ] μὴ παραγενομένουσ προεγράφηι
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Γ[έ]τα διὰ προγ[ρά]μματοσ καὶ μηδ' οὔτωσ
 ὀφθέντο[ς αὐτοῦ μ]έχρι νῦν ἐπ' ἀλλοδημίασ καθιστήκ(ειν)
 ἐπίτηδ[εσ ὡσ εἰσ τ]ῆν κρίσιν κραιοῦ μὴ ἐνστάντοσ.
 20 νυνεὶ δ[έ, ἀφ]ιγμ[έ]νοσ μου [καὶ] μεταλαβόντοσ ὑ[π]ὲρ τοῦ
 Μυσ[.]. ἀντιπο[ι]εῖσθαι ἀ]πὸ τῶν τῆσ [ἀμπελ]ί(τιδοσ?)
 γῆσ ἀρουρ[ῶν] ἕξ] ἀρουρῶν τρι[ῶν, α]ὐτὸν δὲ Ἡρατί[ωνα]
 τῶν ἄλλ[λων ἀρουρῶν τ]ριῶν, ἐγὼ αὐτοῦσ οὐ καθησυχάζω,
 πολλῶ[ι δὲ μ]ἄλλον ἀντ[ε]χόμενοσ [τ]ῆσ κατὰ τῶν ἐγκαλουμέ(νων)
 25 ἐγκλήσ[ε]ω[ς, ἐπι]δίδω[μι] τόδε τὸ ὑπόμνημα καὶ ἀξιῶι
 καταχωρ[ι]θέντοσ αὐτο]ῦ παρὰ σοὶ τὸ ἀντίγρ[α]φον μεταδοθ(ῆναι)
 τοίσ ἐγκαλο[υ]μένοισ δι' ὑ]πηρέτοσ ἵν' εἰδότεσ παραγένωντ(αι)
 ὅπου ἐὰν ὁ κ[ύ]ριοσ ἡγεμ[ῶν] Τιβέριοσ Κλαῦδιοσ Βάλβιλλοσ
 τὸν ἔγγιστα [διαλογο]ισμὸ]ν ποιῆται πρὸ[ς] τὸ διὰ τῆσ ἐκείνου
 30 ἐντεύξεω[ς τυ]χάνειν ἐ]μὲ μὲν τῶν δικα[ί]ων, αὐτοῦσ δὲ
 τῶν ἀρμοζ[] (vac.) εὐτύχ(ει)
 (m. 2) (vac.) ημ[] c. 15 letters] .στ. .μετα[.] γρ()
] .[c. 17 letters] τεσσαρεσ[. . . 5-10 letters] . .
 Σεβαστο]ῦ Γερμα[νικοῦ Αὐτο]κράτοροσ
 35]ς.ρ() εἰ[. . . 5-10 letters] . . . ατουπρωη
] . . . [5-10 letters] . . . ου[]
] φίλου
] ' . . . η[

4 $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\omega$; 1. $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ 7 $\upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\bar{\nu}$ 8 $\mu\epsilon$ 9 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\bar{\rho}$ 11 $\kappa\rho\iota\tau\eta$ 12 $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\alpha\delta\rho\epsilon\iota$ ²
 14 1. $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$, $\epsilon\chi\omega$ 15 $\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon$ 16 1. $\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta$ 18 $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\sigma\tau\eta\kappa$; 1. $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\eta\kappa(\epsilon\iota\nu)$ 20 1. $\nu\upsilon\bar{\nu}\acute{\iota}$
 24 $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon$; 1. $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}(\nu\omicron\nu)$ 25 1. $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omega$ 26 $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\delta\omicron$ ^θ 27 $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\omega\bar{\nu}$
 29 1. $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ 31 $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\bar{\theta}$ 32 $\gamma\bar{\rho}$ 35 $\lambda\varsigma.\bar{\rho}$

'To C. Iulius Asinianus, strategus of the Arsinoite nome, from Mnesitheus son of Theon. After making a complaint and having a summons delivered in the fourteenth year of Divus Claudius against Heration son of Maron and other men, on the grounds that they had wrongfully taken possession of the property of my wife Maronis – Heration of six aruras of vineland near Letopolis in Heracleides' district, and the other men of other property of Maronis – I received from the former prefect L. Lusius Geta as judge concerning all C. Iulius Iollas (?), priest and gymnasiarch of Alexandria, who having heard both myself and the others laid down that the ownership should remain with my wife according to the record of proceedings which I have in my possession.

Since Heration disappeared and did not present himself at the hearing, he was summoned by Geta through a public notice; and since even so he did not appear, I have remained away from home up until now – intentionally, since the time for the judgement had not arrived. But now, having returned and received information of the fact that M... son of ... (?) is laying claim to three aruras from the six aruras of vineland (?), and Heration himself to the other three aruras, I myself, not keeping quiet but adhering much more to the charge against the accused persons, am submitting this memorandum and I ask that it be registered with you and a copy be transmitted to the accused persons through an assistant, so that they may know to present themselves wherever the lord prefect Ti. Claudius Balbillus holds the next *conventus*, that through his intercession I may obtain justice and they may get their deserts. Farewell.'

1 Asinianus is attested as strategus of Heracleides' district of the Arsinoite nome from A.D. 57 to 59; see G. Bastianini, *Gli strateghi dell' Arsinoites*, 14. However, in the absence of information about his near neighbours in office the best available *terminus post quem* for this document is the death of Claudius (see 4), on 13 October A.D. 54, and the best *terminus ante quem* is the first attestation of L. Iulius Vestinus, successor of Balbillus as prefect before 20 June A.D. 60, see *ZPE* 17 (1975) 273.

4 14 Claudius = A.D. 53/4.

6 'H[ρ]ατίωνο[ς]. Cf. BGU XIII 2336. 6. It may be an alternative spelling of 'Hραδίων.

11 On L. Lusius Geta see *ZPE* 17 (1975) 273.

12 A C. Iulius Iollas is known as strategus of the Heracleopolite nome in A.D. 45 and he had a previous term as strategus, possibly in the Oxyrhynchite nome, probably in the reign of Gaius or Tiberius, see P. Oxy. Hels. 11 introd.

12 $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$. It is not clear what priesthood this was, cf. XXVII 2471 5 n.

17 For $\pi\rho\omicron\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 499.

20 $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\gamma\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu$. Cf. XL 2902 10–12, 2912 13–15.

21 [$\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda$](ι τιδος?). All that remains is ink in the shape of a St George's cross high up at the end of the line. It has been taken as a raised iota with a horizontal mark of abbreviation, cf. e.g. XLIII 3121 1 app.

28 $\kappa\bar{\rho}\iota\omicron\varsigma$. The epithet $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is not surely attested as a title of rank for any prefect earlier than Vestinus, who succeeded Balbillus, see A. Stein, *Die Präfekten*, 200 n. 94.

On Balbillus see most lately *ZPE* 31 (1978) 186–7.

31 Perhaps restore simply $\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\omicron\zeta$ [όντων], though there would be room for about five letters after this or $\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\omicron\zeta$ [ουσαν]. Similar passages often have a singular noun, e.g. $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\rho\phi\acute{\eta}$ (P. Tebt. III i 741. 5), $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\lambda\eta\kappa\tau\iota\varsigma$ (P. Tebt. III i 797. 29–30), $\tau\iota\mu\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (P. Mich. v 231. 31). (Cf. now P. Osl. inv. 1088. 5–6 (*Symb. Osl.* 56 (1981) 100).

32–8 These lines might contain the subscription of the applicant, cf. M. Chr. 53, or of the assistant who delivered the summons, cf. M. Chr. 50, 51 and 52, and we also might expect a date, cf. M. Chr. 50 and 54. Nothing here can be recognized for certain. In 32 we might suspect the subscription of the assistant, e.g. $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\gamma\rho(\alpha\phi\omicron\nu)$, but the previous word is not the expected $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$. In 33 the remains suggest an allusion to the previous proceedings in 14 Claudius, cf. 4. In 34 the imperial titles of Nero or Claudius suggest a date, either the date of the application (Nero) or of the previous proceedings (Claudius). In 35 there might be a mention of a strategus, $\zeta\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma-?)$, and of the ex-prefect Geta, $\tau\omicron\bar{\upsilon}\ \pi\rho\omicron\gamma[\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma?]$, cf. 11.

3465. REPORT OF EPISCEPTAE

21 3B. 26/Hb (38-9)a

15 × 35 cm.

A.D. 63/4

There remain of this document the top, foot and beginnings of twenty-eight lines of a single column only; the text must have continued into a further column or columns. The surviving text is divided by spacing and tabulation into four sections, first a covering letter from the episceptae to the strategus announcing that they are appending a report in obedience to his instruction (1-4), second a copy of his letter of instruction to them, mentioning that the report was required because of a communication which he had received from the official with the title of *ὁ γράφων τὸν νομόν* (5-11). The nature of the third section (12-25) is not sure, but it is probably an extract from the official communication mentioned in the second section. It ends with the words *καὶ ἐκρίθη*{ι}, after which comes the fourth section comprising the beginnings of three lines deeply indented (26-8). Probably this is a judgement delivered by a yet higher official and quoted by the *γράφων τὸν νομόν* in his communication to the strategus.

The restoration of the commonest regnal year formula in 10 implies a loss of at least forty-two letters at the end of the line. Naturally, therefore, very little connected sense can be made of the text. For the episcepsis in general see W. *Gdz.* 206 ff., A. Déleage, 'Les cadastres antiques jusqu'à Dioclétien' in *Ét. Pap.* 2 (1934) 73-228, esp. 73-147, S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 8-9, D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil*, 89-92. Other references are collected by T. Kalén in P. Berl. *Leihg.* 1 14 introd., and D. Bonneau, *Actes du X^e Congrès international de papyrologues* (Warsaw, 1964), 137-49.

The report formed part of a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*. The remains of another item adhering to the left of the report are too scanty to be meaningful. The back of the roll of filed documents was subsequently used for a tax-account, as yet not fully read or understood.

Τιβερίωι Κλ[αυ]δίωι Ἡφαιτίωι στρα[τηγῶ
 παρὰ Φιλίσκ[ο]υ [κ]αὶ Διογένους καὶ Πτολ[
 πρὸς τὸ ἐπιστ[αλ]ἔν ἡμεῖν ὑπὸ σοῦ ου[
 κοι τὴν ἐξῆς δη[λου]μένην προσφώνη[σιν
 5 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος [Ἡ]φαιτίων στρατηγὸς [
 τοῖς λοιποῖς δημο[σίοι]ς ἐπισκέπταις τοῦ [
 ἐν οἷς μετέδωκέν μοι ὁ γράφων τὸν νομόν
 . . υ προγεγραμμένου εἶδος μετέδωκε[ν
 ται. διὸ μεταδίδωμι ὅπως εἰδῆτε . . [
 10 ἐσόμενον. (ἔτους) δεκάτου Νέρωνος Κλαυ[δίου
 (vac.) . [
 αἱ εὐθυμετρίαι ἐδηλώθησαν κοινή . . [
 1

τοῦ διαλογισμοῦ περιέχουσι τῶν μὲν γεγ. [κα-
 μήκη τῶν καταμεμετρημένων . [κα-
 15 τατομαῖς καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς κλήροις ἀ... [ἐπι-
 λογῶν γεγόνεσθαι. πάντα δὲ ἀκολουθῶς [ἐπι-
 σκέψεως ἐπιδοθῆναι κατὰ πορείαν κα. [ἐπι-
 ἤχθη δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐπιδοθῆναι πρὸς ἐπιγραφῆ[ν
 γῆς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ χέρσου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παντ[ἐπι-
 20 τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς παραγραφέντα ἀπὸ τε πλ[ἐπι-
 παραγράφονται ἕτεροι σκεπα[ζ]ο[ἐπι-
 καὶ ἄλλων ἐξ ἐπικλασμοῦ τῶν εν. [(-)γε-
 γονέσθαι καὶ ἕτερα πλείστα ἐδάφη δη[(-)γε-
 παράκειται δὲ Καπίτωνος ἐπι. [(-)γε-
 25 δοθῆναι καὶ ἐκρίθη (vac.) (-)γε-
 τὰ ἐπιζητ[ο]ύμ[ενα (-)γε-
 τάχιστα τῶ ἐπ[(-)γε-
 καιωνηδη. . αω[(-)γε-

3 l. ἡμῖν 14 l. μήκη 17 l. ἐπιδοθεῖσι 23 l. ἐδάφη 25 l. ἐκρίθη

'To Tiberius Claudius Hephaestion strategus...from Philiscus and Diogenes and Ptol...In response to the (document) sent to us by you... (we are submitting) to you the report set out below.'

'Tiberius Claudius Hephaestion strategus...to...(and) the rest of the public episceptae of the... Among documents which the γράφων τὸν νομόν passed on to me... aforementioned passed on... Therefore I pass (it?) on that you may know... Tenth year of Nero Claudius...'

(Lines 11-28 are too damaged for even an outline translation.)

1 Restore probably [Ὁξυρυγίτου. This is a new strategus, incorporated by reference to this document into the latest list of Oxyrhynchite strategi, see *ZPE* 29 (1978) 170, no. 22.

3 Perhaps restore something like οὐ [τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑποτέτακται, ... ἐπιδίδομεν, cf. 5-10. If οὐ... ὑποτέτακται intervened at this point, it is awkward to add a noun, such as ἐπιστάλμα, to agree with ἐπισταλέν. Probably τὸ ἐπισταλέν stood on its own without a noun.

4 ἐξῆς δη[λου]μένην. Cf. *W. Chr.* 235. 1, 22.

5 If we restore here after the name of the nome all three of the persons' names known from 2, we reach the sort of line length implied by 10, e.g. [Ὁξυρυγίτου Φιλίσκου καὶ Διογένει καὶ Πτολ(εμαίω?) καί].

6 Restore τοῦ [νομοῦ (or τοῦ [αὐτοῦ νομοῦ] χείρειν.

7 On the γράφων τὸν νομόν see *W. Gdz.* 157, *W. Chr.* 173 introd., F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 422-3, F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, s.v.

10 Restore probably the commonest form of Nero's titulature, which is also the longest, i.e. *Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος*, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 34-5. The probable loss here of forty-two letters gives some idea of how much of the column is lost.

11 [. The trace is of a foot descending diagonally to the left, suiting mu, chi, or possibly tau. The most likely possibility is that it is part of a month name, i.e. Mecheir, Mesore, Choecac or Tybi.

12 εὐθυμετρίαι. Both A. Déléage (*Ét. Pap.* 2 (1934) 122) and A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 29-30, distinguish between the inspection (ἐπίσκεψις) and the survey (εὐθυμετρία D., ἀναμέτρησις J.), which involved actually measuring the land for which a tax reduction was claimed. This distinction, which is blurred by S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 8-9, is clearest in the Ptolemaic documents from Cerceosiris, P. Tebt.

183-5, especially 83. 8, where a note is made that according to the episcopsis Horus was the son of Orses, but that 'according to the survey' he was the son of Orsenuphis.

12-13 Perhaps restore something like *καθάπερ τὰ ὑπομνήματα*, giving the general outline, 'The survey measurements were reported jointly (by?)... as the records of the review specify'.

13 *διαλογισμοῦ*: not the judicial *conventus*, but the administrative inspection that took place at the same time, cf. *W. Chr.* 173. 6 n., O. Reinmuth, *Prefect*, 65 and 98-9.

γεγε[ωμετρημένων], 'those areas subject to *γεωμετρία*', is a possible supplement. Cf. XXXVIII 2847 16-17 n. for this survey of vine and woodland which was made every four years.

14 *καταμεμετρημένων*. The word is used regularly in Ptolemaic times of lands assigned to cleruchs or of the assignees themselves, cf. F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, s.v. This specialized meaning is apparently not attested for Roman times.

14-15 *κα]τατομαίς*: measurement by fractions, i.e. by subdividing the area into small rectangular blocks, measuring these, and adding the results, as opposed to measuring the total area as a single block with notionally parallel sides, whatever its true shape, a system which unfairly favoured the treasury at the expense of the cultivator, see A. Déléage in *Ét. Pap.* 2 (1934) 95-9. The word is not listed in F. Preisigke, *WB* and *Suppl.*, or in S. Daris, *Spoglio Lessicale*, nor is this meaning given in *LSJ* or *Suppl.* It is, however, found so used in connexion with the cadastre of Byzantine times, see *Ét. Pap.* 2 (1934) 99, n. 1.

17 *κατὰ πορείαν*. Perhaps the distinction intended here is between a survey properly carried out by measuring *ἐν κατατομαίς*, see 14-15 n., and a measurement by pacing out.

18 *ἐπιγραφή[ν]*: in the Roman period generally of the assessment of taxes on land, cf. XII 1445 8 n.

18-19 Line 18 may have continued with a mention of the other production categories of the taxation system, i.e. *βεβρεγμένη* and *ἄβροχος γῆ* in distinction to the *χέρκος* of line 19. On these categories see W. L. Westermann in *CP* 15 (1920) 120-37, 16 (1921) 169-88 and D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil*, graphique V.

19 *χέρκου*. Cf. W. L. Westermann in *CP* 17 (1922) 21-36.

20 *ἐξ αὐτῆς*. Or perhaps read *ἐξ αὐτῆς*, with the words following after *ἀπό* specifying the source of the tax entries.

παραγραφέντα: of the entry made by an official on a tax list against a taxpayer's name, noting the amount of tax to be paid, cf. G. Chalon, *L'Édit.* 214 n. 3.

21 *σκεπα[ζ]ο[ι]*. The practice of *σκέπη* has recently been studied by D. Crawford in *JJP* 18 (1974) 169-75, cf. J. D. Thomas in *JEA* 61 (1975) 220 and n. 56.

26-8 Cf. introd. para. 1.

3466. PETITION TO AN ARCHIDICASTES

33 4B. 82/G (9)a

16.7 × 24.5 cm.

A.D. 81-96

A petition addressed to the archidicastes Antoninus, who is new, see 1 n., by Theon son of Dionysius in response to the public registration (*δημοσίωσις*, see M. Gdz., 84-7) by his nephew Phantias of a deed of surety which Theon had given him to secure a loan of twenty minas of gold to Phantias' sister Demetria. There is no mention of the serving of a summons upon Theon, but since it was possible to register a note of hand and warn of its execution at the same time (cf. BGU II 578; XII 1474) it may be assumed that the archidicastes had authorized the serving of a notice (*μετάδοσις*) and that this document represents Theon's *ἀντίρρησις*, for which see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 533-7. At this stage then Theon's appeal to the archidicastes is only to the latter's administrative competence as head of the central archives (see P. Koschaker, *ZRG* 29 (1908) 19-20, R. H. Pierce, *Symb. Osl.* 43 (1968) 68 ff.), not to his judicial competence, for which see A. Calabi, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 420-4.

Theon claims that, as a result of a court case involving this loan and a debt of 3,600 silver drachmas which Demetria claimed in her turn from her brother, he had been released from his bond by the ex-iuridicus Carus, another new office holder, see 8 n. He also states that Phantias and his sister have since exchanged notes of hand acknowledging the full discharge of both debts. Consequently any claims Phantias may have had against his sister as debtor or Theon as surety have been extinguished.

The date of the text depends upon the reading of part of the name of Domitian in 32, supported by the appearance of the main hand, which is comparable with P. Merton 1 13 (A.D. 98-102).

The back is blank except for very faint traces of three lines of writing at the top right-hand side. The hand is similar to but smaller than the hand of the front.

Ἀντωνεῖνω ἱερεῖ καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῇ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρημα-
τιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων

παρὰ Θεώνος τοῦ Διονυσίου τῶν ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως τοῦ
Ὁξυρυγχείτου. τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις προεικάμην τῷ τοῦ
5 ἀδελφοῦ μου *Καραπίωνος* υἱῷ *Φανία* χειρόγραφον ἐγγύης ὧν
εἶχεν ἢ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ *Δημητρία* χρυσίου *μναιαίων* εἴκοσι.
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενομένης τῷ τε *Φανία* καὶ τῇ *Δημητρία*
ἐπὶ πάροντί μοι ἐπὶ [.]ουπίου *Κάρου* τοῦ γενομένου δικαιοδότου
ἀμφισβητήσεως, τοῦ μὲν *Φανίου* μετερχομένου τὴν *Δη-*
10 *μητρίαν* τὰ προκείμενα χρυσίου *μναιαία* εἴκοσι, τῆς δὲ *Δημητρί-*
ας ὡσαύτως μετερχομένης τὸν *Φανίαν* [ἀ]ργυρίου δραχμὰς
τρ[ις]χειλίας ἑξ[ά]κοσί[ας]. . . [.]οκα κατέχε[το] παρ' ἑαυτῇ μέχρι τῆς
τρ[ὴ]ς δανείου κομ[ι]δῆ[ς], ἀπ[ο]πεφ[η]νόςτος *τρ[ὴ]ς* *Κάρου* ἀκολούθως
τρ[ὴ]ς γενομέ[ν]οις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπομνη[ματι]σμοῖς κατέχεσ-
15 θαι [ὑπὸ τῆ]ς *Δημη[τ]ρίας* μέχρι [τῆ]ς [τοῦ δανει]οῦ ἀργυρίου δρα-
χμῶν *τρικηλίων* ἑξακοσίων κομιδῆς τὰ σημαινόμε-
να χρυσία. ἀπηλλαγμένου δέ μου ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ *Κάρου* ὑπομνη-
μα[τι]σμῶν τῆς ἐγγύη[ς] ὁ *Φανίας* τιν[ί] π[ο]τε τῶν τρόπων
ἐξε[χ]θεὶς *τ[ὸ]ς* δανειῶσαι [ὁ] εἶχεν μ[ο]ν τῆς τῶν
20 χρυσίων ἐγγύης χειρόγ[ρ]αφον. ἐπεγνωκῶς τε τὸν *Φαν[ί]*-
αν καὶ τὴν *Δημη[τ]ρίαν* π[ρ]οεῖσθαι ἑαυτοῖς τῷ *Παῦνι* μὴν
τρ[ὴ]ς διεληλυθό[τ]οις ἑτ[ρο]σὺν χειρόγ[ρ]αφα ὁμολογούντων αὐ-
τῶν ἀ[π]εσχηκέναι, *τ[ὸ]ς* μὲν *Φανίου* π[α]ρὰ τῆς *Δημητρία[ς]*
τὰ τοῦ χρυσίου *μναιαία* εἴκοσι, τῆς δὲ *Δημη[τ]ρίας* παρὰ τοῦ *Φα-*

25 ν[ίου τὰς τοῦ ἀργυ]ρίου δραχ[μ]ὰς τρι[σχειλίας ἑξά]κοσίας κατὰ τὸ
 ἀνα[γκαῖον κατα]φρεύ[γω] ἐπ[ὶ τὸν κύριον καὶ ἀξιῶ]ς συντάξαι γ[ρά-
 φαι τῷ [τοῦ] Ὁξυρυνχεῖτο[υ στρατηγῶ] μεταδοῦν[αι τῷ Φαν]ία
 τουδὲ [το]ῦ ὑπομνήμα[τος ἀντίγραφον ὅπ]ως εἰδῆ μηδέ-
 να αὐτῷ [κ]αταλείπ[ε]σθ[αι λόγον περὶ τούτου μ]ῆτε περὶ τῆς
 30 τῷ[ν μναιαίω]ν κφ[μιδ]ῆς [ἴν' ὦ εὐεργετη]μένον. [. . .]ως
 [. ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μῆ] εἰδ[ότ]θ[ε].
 (m. 2) [ἔτους Δο]μιτιανοῦ

5 l. ἐγγύης 18 l. ἐγγύης 20 l. ἐγγύης 27 l. Ὁξυρυνχεῖτο

'To Antoninus, priest, archidicastes, and superintendent of the chrematistae and the other courts from Theon son of Dionysius from the city of Oxyrhynchus in the Oxyrhynchite.

In former times I issued to Phantias, the son of my brother Sarapion, a cheirograph of surety for twenty minas of gold which his sister Demetria held. Afterwards when there was a court case between Phantias and Demetria before the ex-iuridicus . . . Carus at which I was present, with Phantias claiming the aforementioned twenty minas of gold from Demetria and Demetria likewise claiming three thousand six hundred drachmas of silver from Phantias, she kept them in her possession . . . until the return of the loan since Carus had declared according to the minutes issued by him that the aforesaid gold should be kept by Demetria until the return of the loan of three thousand six hundred drachmas of silver. And although I was released from the surety according to the minutes from Carus, Phantias, carried in some way quite out of his wits, has had the audacity to publish the cheirograph which he had of me as surety for the gold. Having found out that Phantias and Demetria issued to one another in the month of Payni of the past year cheirographs agreeing that they had received, Phantias from Demetria the twenty minas of gold and Demetria from Phantias the three thousand six hundred drachmas of silver, of necessity I have recourse to you my lord and I ask you to give orders to write to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite to serve a copy of this notice on Phantias that he may know that he has no further grounds of action in relation to this nor in relation to the return of the minas, that I may be benefited. . . . os son of N. wrote on his behalf as he does not know letters.'

(2nd hand) 'nth year of . . . Domitian . . .'

1 Ἀντωνεῖνω: not listed as archidicastes by A. Calabi, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 406–24 or in the appendix to P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones*. The name is not common in the first century: M. G. Raschke, *BASP* 13 (1976) 27–8.

8 [. . .]οπιῖου Κάρου: not listed by H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres*, III, 1087–8. Umbrius (A.D. 87) is the only iuridicus otherwise known from the reign of Domitian (II 237 vii 39). There is space for only a single narrow letter before the omicron of the nomen; the most likely possibility is Rupius, although Cupius, Lupius and Pupius are also attested, see W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*. Otherwise Οὐκ(λ)πιος through the omission of the medial liquid, cf. Mayser I. 1², 159–60.

12 . . ν[.]οκα. Nu is rubbed but seems sure; omicron which is incomplete might possibly be read as a sigma; a dot of ink on the tail of the alpha might be the remains of a following iota for which there is certainly space before the kappa, if no sure trace. However, the need for an object for κατεῖχετο as well as the visible traces seems to rule out διὸ καί; μεθ' ὃ καί vel sim. The best I can offer is ξν[τ]οκα, 'bearing interest' (sc. χρυσία or μναιαία).

18 τιν[ί] π[ο]τε τῶν τρόπων: cf. SB I 5232. 20.

19 ἐν[χ]θείς: cf. W. Chr. 461. 25, τολμηρῶς ἐνεχθείς.

26 For supplement cf. III 488 20, VII 1032 36–8, P. Mil. Vogl. IV 229. 20 and 29; προσφεύγω is also a possibility.

30-1 [...]ωc[. : the name of the scribe writing the petition; a short name in -ωc followed by a patronymic is perhaps more likely than a long name with -ωc-.

32 The most likely formula is ἔτους (numeral) *Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δο]μιτιανοῦ* | ³³ [Cεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 43-4, followed by month and day. Below Δο]μιτιανοῦ there is blank papyrus c. 4 cm. deep by 3 cm. broad.

3467. PETITION

34 4B.76/K (7-9)b

11.3 × 33.5 cm.

2 September A.D. 98

A petition from Melas son of Hermogenes about the theft of eight sheep. The document is broken across the middle just before the date in line 19, but nothing is lost there. A few lines have been lost from the top of the papyrus. These would have contained the name of the addressee (most probably the strategus, although less important officials like the ἐπιστάτης φυλακῶν or a centurion cannot be entirely excluded) and the temporal details of the breaking and entering described in lines 3-5.

The petition is written in a largish, rather unpractised hand comparable to P. Merton I 12, although the beta is U-shaped here. The subscription, written on behalf of Melas by his father, is in a similar but smaller hand. The back is blank.

.

. . .]. [

την .ρ. . [

νος ληστρικῶ τρόπῳ διορύ-

ξαντές τιμῆς τὸ ἐν τῇ δημο-

5 ζία ῥύμη τείχος τῆς ἀϋλῆς

καὶ εἰσελθόντες ἀπήλασάν μου

πρόβατα ὀκτώ. ἐπιζητούντος

δέ μου ταῦτα, εὔρον ἐν τῷ πρὸς

τῷ τῶν ἐρημοφυλάκων μαγδώ-

10 λω εἰερῶ Διοσκούρων τὴν τού-

των κόπρον ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ κρυ-

πτῷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἣν ἐπέδειξα τῷ

συνηλθόντι μοι πρὸς τὴν ἐπι-

ζήτησιν τῆς κώμης ἀρχεφώδω

15 Πλουτίωνι καὶ τοῖς ἐρημοφύλαξι.

διὸ ἀξιῶ, ἐὰν φαίνεται, διαλα-

βεῖν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ὡ[ε ἄν

κοι] δόξῃ ἴν' ὧ βεβοηθημένος.

εὐτύχει. ἔτους δευτέρου

20 Ἀὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα
 Τραϊανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 μῆνός Σεβαστοῦ ἑ. (m. 2) Μέλας Ἑρμογένους
 ἐπιδέδωκα. Ἑρμογένης Μέλανος ἔγρα-
 ψα ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ [μου] μὴ [εἰ]δότης γράμμα-
 25 τα.

6 εἰσελθόντες corr. from -τας 10 l. ἱερῶ 21 τραϊανου 24 l. υἱοῦ

'...certain men, having in a thievish manner dug through the wall of the yard which gives on to the public street, entered and drove off eight of my sheep. On making a search for them, I found, in the temple of the Dioscuri near the desert-guards' watchtower in a certain concealed place in the temple, their dung, which I showed to Plution the archepodus of the village, who accompanied me in the investigation, and to the desert-guards. Wherefore I ask you, if it seems good to you, to deal with the matter as you see fit, that I may obtain redress. Farewell.'

'The second year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, the fifth of the month Augustus.' (2nd hand) 'I, Melas son of Hermogenes, have presented the petition. I, Hermogenes son of Melas, have written on behalf of my son as he is illiterate.'

2 .ρ. .[: bottom of three uprights and a speck; rho uncertain. This is perhaps part of a phrase detailing when the alleged wall-breaking of lines 3-4 took place, e.g. *νυκτὶ τῇ φερούσῃ εἰς*] τὴν τριτ[τὴν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μῆ]νός: cf. P. Ryl. II 127; 129; 130. *πρώτ[τὴν]* is excluded.

3 ληστ[τρικῶ] τρόπῳ: a common formula for introducing complaints of thefts (cf. P. Ryl. II, Index s.v. *ληστρικός*). Such action was regarded as an aggravating circumstance, like theft at night time: R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 457.

3-4 διορ[ύ]ξαντες: for supplement cf. P. Mich. VI 421. 6; *ὑπορύξαντες* is also a possibility: cf. P. Ryl. II 127. 11; P. Tebt. I 13. 10. Compare Thucydides' account of the Plataean troubles (Thuc. II. 3, 3) and Cnemon's use of *τοιχωρύχος* as a term of abuse in Menander, *Dysk.* 447 and 588.

6 ἀπήλασαν. ἀπελαύνειν replaced the Ptolemaic *περιελαύνειν* as the term for the theft of animals, perhaps under the influence of the Roman legal term *abigeatus*: R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 456.

9-10 ἐρημοφύλακες: Ptolemaic in origin, this gendarmerie survived into Roman times: F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 51-2.

10 The temple of the Dioscuri is not listed by G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon*. It is unlikely to be identifiable with the temple of the *Δύο Ἀδελφοί* in II 254 3, which was in Oxyrhynchus itself. On the cult of the Dioscuri in Egypt see Gow on Theocritus *Idyll* xxii; W. F. von Bissing, *Aegyptus* 33 (1953) 347-57; on the association of the Dioscuri with Isis, F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, 248-62; R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Greco-Roman World*, pls. 33 and 40.

14 The ἀρχέφοδος was a liturgical official responsible for the maintenance of law and order at village level: F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 275-7; P. Jouguet, *Vie Municipale*, 259-60; N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services* s.v. This is the earliest appearance of this official in a dated papyrus from the Oxyrhynchite: cf. XXXI 2572-6, introd.

24 υἱοῦ. On the spelling see Mayser I 1², p. 92.

24-25 On illiteracy in the papyri see R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 14-41; H. C. Youtie, *HSCP* 75 (1971) 161-76 and *GRBS* 12 (1971) 239-61 = *Scriptiunculae* II, chs. 29 and 30.

3468. PETITION TO A PREFECT

21 3B. 23/F (3)a

13 × 37 cm.

First century

A petition to a prefect from Apollonius, asking him to take action against Harsiesis and his wife Teteuris to prevent them enforcing a bill of distraint against Apollonius

for his share of a house, because he has failed to repay a debt. On the bill of distraint (*ἐνεχυρασία*) see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 531–7, A. B. Schwartz, *Aegyptus* 17 (1937) 241–82. Lines 20–4 show that Apollonius had already appealed against the bill of distraint, as was his right, and that an injunction had been granted by the strategus against Harsiesis and his wife. In such a case the creditor should have proceeded no further without first making a counter-claim before the appropriate authorities, but Harsiesis and Teteuris, so Apollonius claims, have ignored the strategus' ruling and are continuing to lay claim to the property. Consequently Apollonius is now appealing to the prefect.

These are two suitable known prefects with the names Lucius Julius: Vestinus, attested in the period A.D. 60–2 (*ZPE* 17 (1975) 273; add P. Yale inv. 1545, see *BASP* 7 (1970) 88), and Ursus, whose undated term is assigned to A.D. 79–81 or to A.D. 83–4, see most lately *Historia* 27 (1978) 341. No way has been found of telling which, if either, appeared here.

The papyrus has been split down the middle but it is complete except for a small portion of the top right-hand corner. A small strip (2 × 9.3 cm.) found with it seems from the alignment of the fibres to have been attached to the top right-hand edge. This unattached fragment has the first letters of eleven lines in a hand that is definitely identical to that of the petition, suggesting that the petition was followed at one time by another on the same sheet. Whether the sheet in turn formed part of a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος* or roll-file of petitions is now impossible to determine. The back is blank.

Λευκίωι Ἰουλίωι [c. 10 letters
 παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου [c. 10 letters
 τῶν ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχ[ων πόλεως
 τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχείτ[ου νομοῦ.
 5 ἐδανεικάμην σὺν Θέωνι Ἀκύ-
 χιος παρὰ τοῦ τοῦ Θέωνος ἀδελ-
 φοῦ Ἀρσιήσιος ἀργυρίου (δραχμὰς) σ ὧν
 τοὺς κατ' ἔτος τόκους ἐδιορθω-
 κάμην τῷ τε Ἀρσιῆσι καὶ τῇ τού-
 10 του γυν[α]ικὶ Τετεύρι. ν[ῦ]ν δὲ
 ὁ Ἀρσιῆς[ι]ς, ἐποφθαλμιάσας
 τῷ ὑπάρχοντί μοι μέρει
 οἰκίας, ἧς ἐστιν κοινωνός μου,
 ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιτελέσαι κα-
 15 τ' αὐτοῦ γράμματα ἐνεχυρασίας,
 βουλόμ[ε]νος ἐπικρατῆσαι μέ-

ρο]υς οἰκ[ίας] ἀξίου ἐπὶ τὸ ἡ΄σσον ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) ὅB
 ἀντὶ τῶ[ν] τοῦ [δ]ανείου δραχ[μ]ῶ[ν]
 διακοσί[ω]ν ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἡμί[σ]εια
 20 ἐπιβάλ[λ]ει τῶ Θεῶνι. ἔ[τι] δέ,
 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ
 κωλύσαντος τὸν Ἀρσιῆσιν ἐξ ἧς
 ἐποιησάμην ἐντυχίας μηδὲν
 ἐπιτελεῖν, παρηγήσατο τὴν πα-
 25 ραγγελίαν βίαιος ὑπάρχων.
 διὸ ἀξιῶ σὲ τὸν κύριον, εἰὰ φαίνη-
 ται, γράψα[ι] τῶ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῶ
 ἐκπέμψ[α]ι ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν τε Θεῶνα
 καὶ τὸν Ἀ[ρσι]ῆσιν καὶ τὴν κομισα-
 30 μὴνη[ν] τοῦς τόκους Τετεύριν,
 ὅπως τύχω τῶν ἀπὸ σοῦ
 δικαίων ἔν ᾧ εὐεργετημένος.
 (m. 2) διευτύχ(ει).

7 sc 17 αρῆς ὅB 29-30 1. κομισαμένην

Unattached fr.

. . .
 .[
 ς[
 στ[
 το[
 5 π[
 ν[
 ρ.[
 δ[
 ω[
 10 ξυ[
 δ[
 . . .

'To L. Iulius...from Apollonius son of...from the city of the Oxyrhynchī in the Oxyrhynchite nome. With Theon son of Hasychis I borrowed from Theon's brother Harsiesis two hundred drachmas of silver, the annual interest on which I paid to both Harsiesis and his wife Teteuris. But now Harsiesis,

casting covetous eyes upon the part that is mine of a house he owns jointly with me, has dared to draw up a bill of distraint upon it, wishing to get possession of a part of a house worth at least two thousand drachmas instead of the two hundred drachmas of the loan, of which half is payable by Theon. Furthermore, although the strategus of the nome prevented Harsiesis from effecting anything when I presented a petition, Harsiesis has disregarded the official order, being a violent man. Therefore I ask you, my lord, if you approve, to write to the strategus of the nome to send to you both Theon and Harsiesis, and the recipient of the interest, Teteuris, in order that I may obtain my rights from you that I may be relieved.'

(2nd hand) 'Farewell.'

1 *Λευκίωι*. Apart from this name the substitution of *ευ* for *ου* is not of frequent occurrence, and it is perhaps due in this case to a confusion with the Greek name *Λεύκιος*, see Mayser-Schmoll I 1², 95, F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, 216. In P. Yale inv. 1545 A, a property record of A.D. 61, see G. M. Parássoglou, *BASP* 7 (1970) 88, the veteran submitting the record writes his own name as *Λούκιος* and the prefect's name later in the same document as *Λεύκιος*.

8-9 *ἔδιορθωσάμην*. For the position of the augment see Mayser I. 2² § 72 (esp. top of p. 109).

24-5 *παραγγελίαν*. I take this to be the strategus' official order restraining (cf. 22) Harsiesis from proceeding with his bill of distraint, rather than a summons to appear for trial (*litis denuntiatio*); the phrasing of lines 21-4 seems to imply that Apollonius has already had the bill of distraint challenged in a hearing before the strategus.

25 *βίαιος ὑπάρχων*: a frequent allegation in petitions, cf. PSI XIII 1323. 6, P. Mich. vi 422. 22, BGU 145. 10; J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v. *βίαιος*. For the legal aspects see M. Dahlmann, *'H βία im Recht der Papyri*.

29-30 *κομισαμήνην*[ν]. Read *κομισαμένην*. On η for ε see Mayser-Schmoll I. 1. 39-40.

Unattached fragment

1 Trace only 7 Alpha also possible 10 Trace only of upsilon 11 Trace of top of letter only; chi also possible.

3469. OFFICIAL LETTER

23 3 B. 3/B (1-2) a

12 × 21.5 cm.

First century

This letter between officials of the Panopolite nome is fairly well preserved but the interpretation of the centre section (7-13) is baffling. The opening part (2-7) relates to the failure of the *πράκτορες* to take action against unspecified persons under suspicion of unspecified misdemeanours. This topic is picked up again at the end of the letter (13-18) where the writer says he has detained the *πράκτωρ*-secretary pending his own return to the locality and inspection of the accounts. The centre section (7-13) relates to the loading on to river-boats of a substantial quantity of grain, and this is not obviously related to the subject-matter of the rest of the letter.

The letter is addressed to Heracleides. The name of the sender and the status of both sender and addressee are unknown; the addressee's title probably featured in the address on the back but the traces have defied transcription. Both seem to have held government posts of some importance: the writer has the power to detain the secretary of the *πράκτορες*, and probably has an area of authority greater than a toparchy (2 and n.), and the tone of the letter suggests that the addressee was at least his equal. If the addressee were the strategus and of Oxyrhynchite origin, this could explain the presence of the letter at Oxyrhynchus.

There is a kollesis down the extreme left edge of the papyrus, overlapping right over left – i.e. the papyrus was inverted before use.

χαίροις κύριέ μου Ἡρακλείδῃ.
 [ἐ]ξ ὅτου ἀπέστην τῆς Φενεβύθεως οἱ πρά-
 κτορες οὐ προέκοιψαν ἐξ ὧν μοι μετέ-
 δοσαν ἐν Ψώνει, οὐδένα γὰρ τῶν ὑπό-
 5 πτων ἀπήτησαν, προεφασίσαντο δὲ
 καὶ τοὺς βοηθοὺς μὴ συναπητηκέσαι αὐ-
 τοῖς. ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Προσωπέτου Δωρᾶς Πι-
 βήκιος οτων μ'α' Ἐξ [[καὶ πρὸς]] ἐνεβάλετο
 ἐκ Βομπαῆ σήμερον, ἐποίησα δὲ τοὺς
 10 ὄ[ν]ους τριφορεῖν ἀπὸ Βομβαῆ εἰς Ψώνιν.
 Ὅ ἐπισταλεῖς δὲ εἰς Ψώνιν'
 11 Ἄμμώνιος Πανετβεῦτος ο' των (ἄρταβ-) Ἰδι ἐνεβά-
 λετο ἄσήμερον' ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ τοῦ προστάτου
 τῷ ἐν Θομπνήει. ἀναγκαίως δὲ
 κατέσχον ἓνα τῶν πρακτόρων τῆς
 15 Φενεβύθεως, ἐπειδὴ γραμματεύ-
 ει αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἐν τῇ Φενεβύθει ὧν εἶ-
 δω τὸν λόγον τῶν ὑπόπτων καὶ ἀπαι-
 τῶ.

ἐρρώσθαί σε εὔχομαι. Ἐπειφ ε̄ .

20 Back: Ἡρακλείδῃ . . . ()

6 Second η of συναπητηκέσαι corrected (from ε or ει) 7 υ of Προσωπέτου corr. 8 ζ: possibly
 c λ of ἐνεβάλετο corr. 16 l. Φενεβύθεως? 16-17 l. ἴδω

'Greetings, my lord Heracleides.

Since I left (the toparchy of?) Phenebythis, the collectors made no progress beyond the information they gave me in Psonis. They made demands from none of the persons under suspicion, alleging as their excuse that their assistants had not joined them in their demands. The man from the Prosopite, Doras son of Pibekis...loaded at Bompae today. I made the donkeys carry thrice from Bompae to Psonis. Ammonius son of Panetbeus – the man sent to Psonis – ...loaded today at the overseer's farmstead at Thompneis. Of necessity I detained one of the collectors of (the toparchy of?) Phenebythis, since he is their secretary, in order that when I am in (the toparchy of?) Phenebythis I may see the account of the suspected persons and make the demands.

I pray for your health. Epeiph 5.'

(Back): 'To Heracleides...'

1 This line was possibly added after the body of the letter was written.

2 *Φενεβύθεως*. Cf. 14–15. Presence of the article suggests the toparchy is meant rather than the village, despite the consequent false dative in 16. None of the other places mentioned in the text receives the article, and the reference to Psonis in 4 is more comprehensible if it is the toparchy which is mentioned in 2. For the toparchy of Phenebythis see T. C. Skeat, P. Beatty Panop. p. xxxvii. The present text surely confirms the location of Psonis (see 4 n.) within that toparchy.

2–3 *πράκτορες*. See P. Mich. x 582 introd. and N. Lewis, *ICS* s.v. *πρακτορεία, πράκτωρ*. Their office here is not more closely specified. The toparchy as their area of competence would well suit the data of the present text.

4 *Ψώνει*. See 2 n. and P. Beatty Panop. p. xxxvii there cited, and also Z. Borkowski, *JJP* 18 (1974) 223–4.

7 *Προσωπίτου*. If the reference is to a ship's captain, cf. XXIV 2415 for the citation of similarly distant origins: *Προσωπίτου* occurs there in 42 and 67.

8 *στων*. Articulate *δ τῶν*? Cf. 11 n. μ^a stands for *μυριάδος μιᾶς*? Cf. P. Lond. III 900. 20 (p. 89). Is the intended meaning 'captain of a boat of 10,000 artabas'? For boats of this capacity see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (1971), 164 n. 40. On this interpretation the 'Εζ (or possibly 'Ες) would be accusative (sc. *ἀρτάβας*; 5,006 or 5,200, again with no artaba-sign) and indicate the quantity loaded on board.

9 *Βομπαή*. Cf. *Βομβαή* in 10. See A. Calderini, *Diz. Geogr.* 11, p. 54.

10 The meaning of *τριφορεῖν* is not clear, but obvious alternatives are 'to make three journeys' and 'to carry a triple load'. The usage of *διφορεῖν* (P. Cair. Zen. 59147. 8 and 59782a. 71) seems not quite parallel.

11 Apparently *των (ἀρταβ-)* 'Γιδ ἐνεβάλετο was written first, leaving a gap of half a line before it into which 'Αμμώνιος Πανετβεύτος ο was subsequently inserted, and then *ὁ ἐπισταλὴς δὲ εἰς Ψώνω* was squeezed in above the 'Αμμώνιος- insertion. Another possibility is that 'Αμμώνιος Πανετβεύτος ο (gap) *ιδ ἐνεβάλετο* was first written, then *των (ἀρταβ-)* 'Γ inserted in the gap and then the interlinear addition as above.

τῶν? Layout of the papyrus makes it clear that these letters are not to be linked with the omicron which precedes. If the artabas + numerals following are linked with *τῶν*, *ἐνεβάλετο* is left without an object; while *τῶν* on its own is inexplicable. We therefore suppose there to have been an omission, and that we have lost something comparable with the μ^a in the earlier instance in 8; cf. 8 n.

13 *Θομπνήει*. This locality seems not to have been recorded before.

19 Beginning of 'Επέφ obscured by a correction (from π, i.e. *Πᾶνι*?).

20 The remains of the address are exceedingly scanty. Presumably Heracleides' name was followed by his title. I have tried to read this as *στρ(ατηγῶ)* (cf. the introd. above), but without any confidence.

3470–3471. SWORN DECLARATIONS BY PRIESTS

50 4B. 30/H (1–2)b

13.5 × 30.5 cm.

22 December A.D. 131

Two documents pasted together in a tomos synkollesimos with traces of the items that came before and after in the roll. One document is almost complete, the other is broken in the middle and the lower half is on a loose fragment. The back is blank. The writing of the body is the same in each item. So probably is the hand of the annotation at the head of each. The subscriptions are in different hands.

Except for the temples concerned and the names of the priests the two documents were virtually identical, and therefore supplements may be made from one to the other.

Of positive information there is a slightly later date than hitherto known for the office of the strategus Asclepiades and the royal scribe Hierax, further evidence for Heracles with the cult title of *θεὸς μέγιστος* and an unparalleled mention of a Greek

temple of Zeus and Hera. The rest of the information given is problematical, but is concerned with the priestly epicrisis, with the fee paid by priests on entering office and, notably, with written evidence from the archiprophetes about the epicrisis of individual priests (see commentary).

The administrative context of the documents may be outlined as follows. Questions had been raised concerning financial matters associated with the epicrisis of the sons of priests. As money was involved, these were matters for the *Idios Logos* (see P. Swarney, *Idios Logos*, 85 seqq.), whose department issued a report demanding further investigation. The report was passed on to the strategus and the royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite. This part of the procedure has been illustrated by the document published by J. Mathwich in *ZPE* 15 (1974) 69 seqq. XLII 3026 also illustrates correspondence between the *Idios Logos* and a strategus. The priests concerned were required then to make these sworn declarations to the strategus and royal scribe, who presumably returned copies of the declarations to the *Idios Logos*.

Presumably the documents were pasted into a tomos *synkollesimos* and filed by the strategus, whose clerk may have been responsible for the filing references at the top of each document.

Other declarations in reply to questions from the *Idios Logos* are BGU I 16 (= W. *Chr.* 114), BGU I 258 (= W. *Chr.* 87), SPP xxII 184 (see BL 1-11) and P. Iand. 139.

3470

- (m. 3)], ιε (ἔτους)
] (vac.) //
- (m. 1) Ἀσκληπι[ιάδῃ] στρ(ατηγῶ) καὶ [Ἰέ]ρ[α-
 κι β(ασιλικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ)
 5 παρὰ Ἡρακλήου Μενχέ-
 ως μητρὸς Τατάτος καὶ
 Πτόλλιδος Ἀμόϊτος μη-
 τρὸς Θαή[ς]ιος ἀμφοτέ-
 ρων ἀπὸ κώμης Ταλαῶ
 10 ιέρων Ἡρακλέους θεοῦ
 μεγίστου. πρὸς τὸ με[τ]α-
 δοθὲν εἰς ἐξέτασιν εἶδος
 ἰδίου λόγου ἀπὸ λόγων ιε (ἔτους),
 οὗ ἐστιν ἀντίγρ(αφον):— οἱ ὑπο-
 15 γεγραμμένοι ἀφήλικες
 υἱοὶ ιέρων καὶ ἱεροεθνώ(ν)

- προςβάντες εἰς (τεσσαρεςκαιδεκαετεις)
 τῷ ιε (ἔτει) Ἀδρι<α>νοῦ Καίσαρο[ς
 τοῦ κυρίου παρὰ προθεσ-
 20 μ[ί]αν τὸ ἰσκριτικὸν διέ-
 γραψαν. ἴν' οὖν [ἐξ]ετασθῆ
 εἰ ὑπόκειται [τ]ι ταῖς τάξε-
 ς αὐτῶν ἐκ δημοσίου
 ἢ ἔξωθεν, καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν
 25 οἱ, συνή[θ]ως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρ-
 χιπροφήτου ἐπικρινόμε-
 νοι, καὶ τὸν χρηματισμὸν
 παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔλαβον, μετα-
 δίδονται:— κάτω το(παρχίας) Ἐταλώ', ἱερεῖς
 30 Ἐρακλέους θεοῦ μεγίστου:—
 Πανεμεγὺς Ἐρακλήου τοῦ
 Μεγέως μητρὸς Ταθω-
 νάτος Πανεμγέως, Ἀμ[ό]ϊς
 Πτόλλ[ιδος τοῦ Ἀμόϊτο]ς μη-
 35 τρὸς Τα[.].λλα-
 τος — προ[σφω]γοῦμεν ὁμνύντ(ες)
 Ἀυτοκράτορ[α] Καίσαρα
 Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδρι<α>νοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 μηδὲν ὑποκείσθ(αι) ταῖς τά-
 40 ξεσι τῶν προγεγραμ-
 μένων ἡμῶν υἱῶν ἐκ
 τε δημοσίου ἢ ἔξωθεν
 μηδὲ εἶναι ἔθος τοὺς τοι-
 ούτους ἐπικρείνεσθ(αι) ὑπὸ τοῦ
 45 ἀρχιπροφήτου ἢ ἔνοχ[ο]ς
 εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ. (ἔτους) ἱς Ἀυτοκράτορ[ος
 Καίσαρος Τραϊ<α>νοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς Ἀδρι<α>νοῦ κ̄ε.
 (m. 2) Ἐρακλῆς Μεγέως
 50 καὶ Πτόλλ[ι]ς Ἀμόϊτος ἐπι-
 δεδ]ώκαμεν καὶ ὁμω-

μόκ]αμεν τὸν ὄρκον.

...]ις Ἀλεξάνδρου

ἔγρα]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ

55 εἰδότη]ων γράμματα.

1 ιεϛ 3 στρ^β 4 β^λ γρ^λ 13 ιελ 14 αντιγρ^β; ο in οί corr. from ε? 16 ιεροεθν^ω
 17 ιδλ 18 ιελ 20 l. εἰςκριτικόν 29 το^β 36 ομνην^β 38 l. Τραϊανόν Ἀδριανόν Σεβαστόν
 39 υποκειε^θ 44 επικρεινεε^θ; l. ἐπικρίνεσθαι 45-6 l. ἐνοχοί εἴημεν

(3rd hand) '... 15th year.'

(1st hand) 'To Asclepiades strategus and Hierax royal scribe from Heracles son of Menches, mother Tatas, and Ptolis son of Amois, mother Thaesis, both from the village of Talao, priests of Heracles most great god.'

In response to the report of the idios logos from the records of the 15th year that was notified for investigation, of which the following is a copy -

The undermentioned minors, sons of priests and persons of priestly stock, who came forward into the category of fourteen-year-olds in the fifteenth year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, paid their entrance fee after the appointed date. Consequently, in order that it may be investigated whether there is income from the state or from outside (the temple) attached to their offices, and which are persons who, customarily undergoing scrutiny by the arch-prophet, have actually received the certificate from him, notification is made. Lower toparchy, Talao. Priests of Heracles most great god. Panemgeus son of Heracles grandson of Menches, mother Tathonas daughter of Panemgeus; Amois son of Ptolis grandson of Amois, mother Ta... daughter of... allas.

- we report, swearing by the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, that no income is attached to the offices of our above-mentioned sons either from the state or from outside (the temple), and that it is not customary for such persons to undergo scrutiny by the arch-prophet, or let us incur the consequences of the oath.

Year 16 of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, month of Hadrianus 25.'

(2nd hand) 'We, Heracles son of Menches and Ptolis son of Amois have submitted this document and sworn the oath. ... is son of Alexander wrote for them as they are illiterate.'

1 From 3471 1 we can guess that the annotation was something like 'Talao: priests of Heracles; 15th year'.

2 The two oblique strokes seem here to be on the level of line 2, while in 3471 they are a little higher, between lines 1 and 2. Probably they belong with the year number in each case, though it would be more normal to find them on the same level.

3 For Asclepiades and Hierax see *ZPE* 29 (1978) 173, nos. 44-5.

6 Tatas is hitherto recorded only as a man's name, but I have consulted Professor J. R. Harris and have kindly been allowed to quote the answer.

'The fact that *Tatâc* occurs elsewhere as a masculine name is no obstacle to its being feminine here. Whatever the etymology of the Egyptian original, the form was presumably one without any specifically masculine/feminine elements: *ta-* cannot in this case be *t* in that the name is attested as male. Many Egyptian names are indeed applicable to both men and women, and *Tatâc* would then be a Greek transcription of such a type.'

9-11 Priests of Heracles θεός μέγιστος are new for this village, see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon*, IV 762. Cf. *BIFAO* 74 (1974) 23-7 for Heracles in the Small Oasis, which is associated with Oxyrhynchus.

16 ιεροεθνής is *addendum lexicis*. The declarers were priests. Therefore if the word is used here without tautology, it must apply to the mothers of their sons. There is perhaps an implication that it was sufficient if the mothers were of priestly parents without their actually holding office as priestesses.

20 The payment of the eiskritikon must be the reason why the idios logos is concerned with the matter, as the department did not generally supervise ecclesiastical affairs, see P. Swarney, *Idios Logos*, 76. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 249, thinks it probable that the first payment of eiskritikon was due after circumcision, which may still be true. The evidence provided by the present papyrus suggests that a

second payment was due before epicrisis, unless the two payments are one and the same. It is possible that a third payment was due on entering hereditary priestly offices, as indicated by P. Vindob. Boswinkel I. 13, *πότερον πραταὶ αἱ τάξεις εἰς τὴν ἢ ἐπὶ εἰς κριτικῶ παραδοθῆναι ὀφείλουσιν*.

21 The text here is supplemented on the basis of P. Iand. 139. 22–3 and of 3471 18, see note, but I see no reason to suppose that the scribe committed the same error here as in 3471.

22 *ὑπόκειται*. Cf. 38 and 3471 18–19. For the meaning see LSJ s.v. *ὑπόκειμαι* 7(b).

23–4 *ἐκ δημοσίου ἢ ἔξωθεν*. Money from the state always seems to have been paid to the priests through the temple treasury, see W. Otto, *Priester u. Tempel*, II 24, so that the question here must be whether the priests' sons were given any of the money from the state. I do not know in what way this was relevant to the *idios logos*. I take *ἢ ἔξωθεν* to mean 'or from outside the temple'. As full priests were not allowed to enter into business as individuals, and as all their income seems to have been paid, directly or indirectly, through the temple treasury (see Otto, *op. cit.* II 23–42 on the three categories of priests' income), this second part of the question may have been relevant to the boys' qualifications for a full priesthood.

Our knowledge of the arch-prophet is unsatisfactory; see the latest summary and discussion of the evidence, including reference to this document, in *Actes XV^e Congrès* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 19) 124–31. It is tentatively concluded there (128–9) that this holder was the *ἀρχιπροφήτης καὶ ὀράπις* of Memphis, on whom see especially *CE* 49 (1974) 143–4.

27 In SB VIII 9658, which has now been republished by P. J. Parsons in *CE* 49 (1974) 139 seqq., a *χρηματισμὸς ἐπὶ σφραγίδων* issued by the arch-prophet of Memphis occurs. The conclusion can hardly be avoided that this *χρηματισμὸς* served the same purpose, which would be to certify that the candidate had passed the priestly epicrisis, see *CE* 49 (1974) 144. In SB 9658 (A.D. 193) it is said to be obligatory for any applicant for a priestly office to produce this certificate. In the present document epicrisis by the arch-prophet is said not to be customary for these persons. Probably some sort of certificate was also required in these cases but was issued by a different authority.

30 A paragraphus marks the beginning of the list.

42 *τε. . . ἦ*. For this unusual combination see J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles*², 514 (iv), E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, II, 3 pp. 166–7.

53–5 For the phenomenon of illiterate priests, i.e. priests who could not write Greek, see *ZPE* 19 (1975) 101–8, esp. 108.

3471

(m. 3) *Ταλ(αὼ) ἱερέ(ων) [Δι]ὸ(ς) καὶ Ἡρ(ας) ιε (ἔτους) //*
(*vac.*) . . . (*vac.*)

(m. 1) *Ἀσκληπιάδῃ στρ(ατηγῶ) καὶ Ἰέρακ(ι) β(ασιλικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ)*
παρὰ Αν[. . . Ἀ]ρμιύσιος τοῦ
5 *Α[. . .]. . .] μητρὸς Ταύριος καὶ . . .*
. τοῦ Ἀνθραξτίου καὶ
Διογᾶτος Ὁρου τοῦ Ὁρου αν. . . ()
τῶ[ν] γ̄ ἀπὸ κώμης Ταλαῶ ἱερέ(ων)
Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας Ἑλληνικοῦ ἱεροῦ.
10 *πρὸς [τ]ὸ μεταδοθὲν εἰς ἐξέτασιν*
εἶδο[ς] ἰδίου λόγ(ου) ἀπὸ λόγων ιε (ἔτους)
οὗ ἔστιν ἀντίγρ(αφον):— οἱ ὑπογεγραμ-
μένοι ἀφήλικες υἱοὶ ἰ[ε]ρέων

καὶ ἱερο[εθ]νῶν προσβάντες
 15 εἰς (τεσσαρεςκαιδεκαετείς) τῷ ιε (ἔτει) Ἄδριανοῦ
 Καίσαρος τ[ο]ῦ κυρ[ί]ο]υ παρὰ π[ρο-
 θεσμίαν τὸ ἱσκριτικὸν διέγ[ρα-
 ψαν. ἰ<ν>’ οὖν ἐξετασθῆ εἰ ὑπόκει[ταί
 20 τι ταῖς τάξεσι ἐκ δημοσί[ο]υ
 ἢ ἔξωθεν καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν
 οἷ, ζυνήθως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιπρο-
 φήτου ἐπ[ικρ]ινόμενοι, κ[αὶ
 τὸν χρηματισμὸν παρ’ αὐτοῦ
 ἔλαβον, μ[εταδίδοται:— κάτω
 25 [το(παρχίας)] Τ[α]λ[α]ώ, ἱερεῖς Διὸ[ς] καὶ
 Ἡρας Ἑλληνικοῦ ἱεροῦ:— . . .
 μιν. . .[.] τοῦ Αρ[.
 ριο[. μη]τρὸς Θαήσιο[ς] Ἀπολ-
 λωνίου, Ἀρμιύσιος Αν[.
 30 τοῦ Ἀρμιύσιος μητρὸς .[. . . .
 .].[.]ου Διογᾶ .[
]

]
] .μεγιστη[.
] . . — προσφωνοῦ[μεν
 35 ὀμνύν]τες Αὐτοκρ[άτ]ορ[α
 Καίσαρ]α Τραϊαν[ο]ῦ Ἄδριανοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ μ]ηδὲν ὑποκείθ(αι)
 ταῖς τάξεσι] τῶν πρ[ογ]εγραμ-
 μένων ἡ]μῶν υἰῶν
 40 ἔκ τε δημο]σί[ο]υ] ἢ ἔξωθε[ν
 μηδὲ εἰν]α[ι ἔ]θος τ[ο]ῦς τοι[ού-
 τους ἐπ]ί[κ]ρίνεσθαι ὑπὸ
 τοῦ ἀρχιπροφ]ήτου ἢ ἔνοχος
 εἶην τῷ ὄρκ]ωι. (vac.)
 45 (ἔτους) ἰς Αὐτο]κράτορος Καίσαρος
 Τραϊαν]οῦ Ἀδρι<α>νοῦ Σεβαστοῦ,

μη]γός Ἀδρι<α>νοῦ κε.
 (m. 2) Αν... Ἀρ]μιύσιος καὶ
 ...]. . . ζιφς καὶ Διογᾶς
 50 Ὡ]ρ[ο]υ ἐπιδεδώκαμεν καὶ ὁμω-
 μέκαμεν τὸν ὄρκ(ον). ...[...].
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μ[ὴ εἰ-
 δότων γράμματα.

1 τὰ ιερ^λ[δι]?, ηῖ ιε^ς // 3 στρ^λ, ιερ^α β γρ^λ 8 ιερ^ω 11 λογ^θ, ιελ^θ 12 αντιγρ^λ 15 ιδλ, ιελ
 17 l. εἰςκριτικόν 36-7 l. Τραϊανόν Ἀδριανόν Σεβαστόν 37 υποκει^θ 43-4 l. ἔνοχοι εἴημεν
 50-1 l. ὁμωμόκαμεν 51 ορ^κ

(3rd hand) 'Talao: priests of Zeus and Hera; 15th year. ...'

(1st hand) 'To Asclepiades strategus and Hierax royal scribe from An... son of Harmiysis grandson of A... , mother Tayris, and ... son of ... sis(?) grandson of Anthestius, and Diogas son of Horus grandson of Horus ... , the three of them from the village of Talao, priests of the Greek temple of Zeus and Hera.

In response to the report of the idios logos from the records of the 15th year that was notified for investigation, of which the following is a copy -

The undermentioned minors, sons of priests and persons of priestly stock, who came forward into the category of fourteen-year-olds in the fifteenth year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, paid their entrance fee after the appointed date. Consequently, in order that it may be investigated whether there is income from the state or from outside (the temple) attached to their offices, and which are persons who, customarily undergoing scrutiny by the arch-prophet, have actually received the certificate from him, notification is made. Lower toparchy, Talao. Priests of the Greek temple of Zeus and Hera: ... son of ... grandson of ... sis (or -sius), mother Thaesis daughter of Apollonius, Harmiysis(?) son of An... grandson of Harmiysis, mother ... daughter of ... (?) ...

- we report, swearing by the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, that no income is attached to the offices of our above-mentioned sons either from the state or from outside (the temple), and that it is not customary for such persons to undergo scrutiny by the arch-prophet, or let us incur the consequences of the oath.

Year 16 of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, month of Hadrianus 25.'

(2nd hand) 'We, An... son of Harmiysis and ... son of ... sis(?) and Diogas son of Horus have submitted this document and sworn the oath. ... son of ... wrote for them as they are illiterate.'

1 The reading of this very cursive line owes a great deal to Dr R. A. Coles who, without prior knowledge of the content of the document, made out τὰ, ιερ^λ and ηῖ on purely palaeographic grounds. The case of ιερ^ε(ων) is doubtful, but the superscript epsilon should probably discourage us from breaking the diphthong to expand to ιερ^ε(ις). The trace of [Δι]δ(ς) is minute, but probably raised.

2 Possibly there was an item number here, e.g. πη = 88, but this is very far from certain.

6 The very faint traces might represent ... ζιφς, cf. 26-8 n.

7 The end of the line is virtually undamaged. The letters look like αννυ followed by the raised and rounded mark of abbreviation which usually represents a vestigial pi. Even ἀν{υ}υ(π-) does not suggest any Greek word which is obviously relevant.

9 That Greek temples were also controlled by the idios logos we know already from section 86 of the *Gnomon* (BGU v). It is interesting, though hardly surprising, to see that even Zeus and Hera without the specification were thought likely to be understood as their Egyptian counterparts, presumably Ammon and Mut. It is also worth noticing that the few names preserved in this item do not suggest that the priests serving Greek gods were much more Greek than those serving Egyptian ones.

18 It is disquieting to have to suppose the loss of nu. Mayser i. 1² pp. 170-1 does give examples of the loss of final nu before a vowel, but for these examples to apply fully we would have to suppose that

the scribe took ἴν' to be the basic form, which cannot have been the case. The alternative ι = εἰ is much easier in itself, but would mean that μεταδίδοται must be taken as the phonetic equivalent μεταδίδοτε. The passage would have to be translated, 'Let me know whether it is investigated if there is any income attached', etc. I hold this to be impossible as μεταδοθὲν εἰς ἐξέτασιν (10) clearly recalls ἴν' ἐξετασθῆ... μεταδίδοται of the original document and not εἰ ἐξητάσθη... μεταδίδοτε. The fact that the two documents are identical in formula wherever they are both preserved allows us to reconstruct this passage from both of them, and I do not think one could argue that 3470 had ἴν' ἐξετασθῆ... μεταδίδοται while 3471 had ι (= εἰ) ἐξετάσθη (= ἐξητάσθη)... μεταδίδοτε. Further, the corresponding passage in P. Iand. 139. 22-3 should be remembered: ἵνα δὲ... ἐξετασθῆ, μετρηθ[όθη]η...

24-6 The traces are minuscule and doubtfully assigned to individual letters, especially in 25, but the wording can be deduced from 3470 29-30 and 3471 1, 8-9. Here there is space for the village name on the line.

26-8 It is tempting to restore 'Αρ|μῖνς|ς in 26-7 and 'Αρ|μῖ|ς|ς in 27-8 = 'Αρμ|ῖνς|ς in 49. The second would be the grandfather of the minor named here and the father of the declarer in 5-6 and 48-9. His name should also occur, therefore, in 6. The traces there are too scanty to confirm it, but would be consistent.

43-4 A horizontal at the end of the line suits the cap of sigma, i.e. singular instead of plural as in 3470 45-6.

3472. LETTER CONCERNING THE IDIOS LOGOS

45 5B. 55/B (1-3)a

16.7 × 18.5 cm.

28 August A.D. 149

A letter addressed by the strategus and royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite to Ammonius alias Pets... and colleagues of the sanctuary of Athena in the Thoereum Quarter in Oxyrhynchus. They quote a ruling by the idiologus Claudius Iustus requiring all who have plots of ground within temple precincts to produce evidence to support their right of ownership and ask for the appropriate return to be made.

The involvement of the idiologus can be related to the strong interest taken by the department of the Idios Logos in the second century in temple matters of every sort: see P. R. Swarney, *Idios Logos*, 83-9, 122-6. In this case Ammonius and his colleagues are addressed as a known group but it does not follow that they themselves were priests or representatives of the temple's priesthood. Full details of members of the priesthood would have been available to the authorities through their annual *γραφαὶ ἱερέων*: see E. H. Gilliam, *YCS* 10 (1947) 191-8. They may well have been pastophori, who are known to have had living quarters within the compounds of their temples (J. A. S. Evans, *YCS* 17 (1961) 192-5), or alternatively they may have been persons who had established squatting rights within the sanctuary to avail themselves of privileges to which they were not entitled. BGU IV 1 199 (4 B.C.), a prefectural order for the registration of all persons attached to temples, shows that this was not a new problem. None the less it is tempting to connect the present text with the increasing economic pressure brought to bear upon the temples in Egypt in the second century: see Gilliam, *op. cit.* 186-7; Evans, *op. cit.* 263-5.

The papyrus has been quoted and discussed in advance of publication in *CE* 53 (1978) 321-8, *CE* 54 (1979) 143-8, and *Journal of Religious History* 11 (1980) 218-26.

The back is blank.

Αἴλι[ος Ἀφρο]δείσιος στρατηγὸς καὶ Σερήνος ὁ καὶ
 Καρ[απίων] βασιλ(ικὸς) γραμματεὺς Ὁξυρυγχ(είτου) Ἀμμωνίω
 τῷ καὶ Πε-

τς. [. . . . Ἀμ]μωνίου τοῦ Πεκυσίου καὶ μετόχοις χαίρειν.

Κλαύ[διος] Ἰούστρος ὁ κράτιστος πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐποι-

5 ἤσατο τοῦ νομοῦ διαλογισμῷ τῷ διεληλυθότι ἰα (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίνου

Καίς[αρος] τοῦ κ[υ]ρίου ἀχθέντος εἴδους περὶ τῶν ἐντὸς περιβόλων

ἱερῶ[ν] κε[κτ]ημένων οἰκόπεδα διαλαβὼν ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἀπέ-

φαν[εν] οὕτω[ς]. Ὅσοι συνήψαν τῷ τοῖς ἐπὶ Τούσκῳ τὴν συντεί-

μης[ιν] ἐπιδ[ε]φωκόσι δύνανται δεόντως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι

10 τῶν τόπων. ὅσοι δὲ παραγγελέντες οὐ παρέθεντο, ἐὰν καὶ

νῦν [ἐν]τὸς μηνῶν δύο μὴ ἐπενέγκωσι, ἐνεχέσθωσαν τοῖς

ὠρ[ισμέν]οις. τούτων οὖν μεταδοθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου

ἡμ[ῶν] ὡς κ[α]θή[κει] καὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως γραμματέως Ἡρακλείδου

ὑπογύως

μ[. . .] .ογτος τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν νυνὶ ἐπικρατούντων

15 οἰκ[ο]πέ[δ]ων ἐντὸς περιβόλων ἱερῶν τῆς μητροπόλεως,

κατ[ὰ] τὸ [ἀ]ναγκαῖον ἐγγράφως ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλεται ἵν' ἐν

τῇ δ[ιοθεί]σῃ προθεσμίᾳ παραθῆσθε τὰ ἐζητημένα ἔνε-

κα ὧν [ἐδ]ήλωθητε ἐπικρατεῖν οἰκοπέδων ἐντὸς περι-

βόλου [τῆς Ἀθ]ηῶν ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Θεοφρέου Θενεπμοῖ.

20 (m. 2)] (vac.) () (m. 3) Σαραπάμ(μων) γραμματεὺς

ἐπή(νεγκα).

(m. 1?) [ἔτους ιβ Αὐτοκρ]άτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ

Ἀντωνίνου

[Σεβαστοῦ Ε]ὐ[ε]βροῦς Μεσορῆ ἐπαγομ(ένων) ε⁻.

2 βασιλ^λ γρς οξυρυγχ^λ 7-8 l. ἀπέφηνεν 8-9 l. συντίμησιν 10 l. παραγγελέντες 13 γρς
 20 γρς 22 επαγομ^ε

'Aelius Aphrodisius, strategus, and Serenus alias Sarapion, royal scribe, of the Oxyrhynchite to Ammonius alias Pets . . . son of Ammonius grandson of Pecysius and colleagues, greetings.

In the inspection of the nome which he made in the past eleventh year of Antoninus Caesar our lord, Claudius Iustus the most excellent idiologus, a report being made concerning those who own sites within sacred precincts, declared as follows in giving a decision on all cases: "All those who are connected (?) with the persons who submitted the valuation under Tuscus can legally lay claim to their plots. But all those who did not make a declaration when instructed, if they do not now submit their evidence within two months, are to be liable to the prescribed penalties." Therefore since this information has been communicated by one of us in the proper way and since Heracleides, the secretary of the city, is currently about to be engaged upon (?) the list of names of those who now possess sites within sacred precincts

in the metropolis, a written order is of necessity being sent to you in order that in the given time appointed you may produce the information required concerning the sites which you have been declared to possess within the precinct of Athena in the quarter of the Thoereum of Thenepmoi.'

(2nd hand) ']. ()'. (3rd hand) 'I Sarapam(mon), scribe, have delivered this.'

(1st hand) '[12th year] of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus [Augustus] Pius, fifth epagomenal day of Mesore.'

1-2 Aelius Aphrodisius is known as strategus from A.D. 147/8 to 3-5 March 154: XLI 2961 10 n.; Serenus alias Sarapion is attested as royal scribe from 148/9 (XLI 2956) to the same date (XLI 2967), but their terms of office are likely to have been co-extensive, for Dioscorus who preceded Aphrodisius as strategus had Ischyron as royal scribe (I 171 descr. = II, p. 208).

2-3 Περσ. [: a minute trace after c; Περσ[ίρει vel sim. Otherwise unknown, as far as I can determine.

4-6 Claudius Iustus is already known as idiologus from P. Tebt. II 294 = W. Chr. 78 (5 January 147). He is probably also to be identified with the Iustus of PSI XIV 1439 and P. Lond. II 359 (p. 150) 5: infra, 8 n. This direct statement that the idiologus conducted a *διαλογισμός* of the Oxyrhynchite nome in A.D. 147/8 should be added to the other evidence for a special connexion of his department with this process, see G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo*, 180-7; *Aegyptus* 57 (1977) 145-50.

7-8 ἀπέφαν[εν]. Cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 304, Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *Grammatik*, § 72.

8 ἐπὶ Τούσκῳ: also to be read in P. Lond. II 359 (p. 150) 2 and SB VI 9066 ii 11 and 14. Dr J. Rea has suggested to me that Tuscus may be identifiable with C. Caecina Tuscus, iuridicus in A.D. 51/2 and prefect from 62/3 to late 65 or early 66 (G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 274; id. 38 (1980) 77). FIRA III 171 a and b show that, as prefect, Tuscus was concerned with curtailing certain privileges enjoyed by the veterans settled in Egypt. He may therefore have looked equally closely at any persons who had tried to claim priestly privileges or immunities to which they were not entitled. This subject has been discussed more fully in *CE* 53 (1978) 321-8, where this papyrus was quoted in advance of publication.

For ἐπί + dat. of an official where a gen. might be expected cf. Preisigke, WB, IV 4 s.v. B (2) and (3), LSJ Suppl. s.v. (8).

9 ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι: in a general sense 'lay claim to' or perhaps 'acquire by succession', see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 216 n. 13.

10 τήψων: letters are broken but secure.

ῥοι δὲ παραγγελέντες οὐ παρέθεντο: cf. VII 1032 18-19 and nn.

11 [ἐν] τὸς μηνῶν δύο: read by Dr Rea. For a period of two months' grace in which to produce evidence or register a claim cf. P. Amh. II 68. 71-2; VII 1032 22-3.

13 Ἡρακλείδου: probably not identifiable with the city secretary of this name in P. Wisc. II 85, dated to the latter part of the second or early third century A.D.

14 μ[. . .] ρητῶς. One possibility is μ[ε]τιόνητῶς. If that is correct, the single dot after the second bracket represents the tip of the crossbar of tau as well as the iota to which it is ligatured. No good parallel from the papyri has been found, but see LSJ s.v. μετέρχομαι (3).

18 [ἐδῆ] λώθητε: better than [ἐμν]ήσθητε. Not [ἐμῆ]νύθητε.

19 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Θοηρείου Θενεπμοῦ. Cf. VII 1028 31-2 where the ambiguous letters read originally as Θενέπλωι should now be read as Θενεπμοῦ. The name suggests a cult title of Thoeris, e.g. t' -n(t)-p(?) -mw (Copt. *MOON*), 'she of the water'. Alternatively the final element of the name may represent Copt. *MOON* 'the island' or Tmy, identified by A. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II 113* (388G), as a place where there was a temple of Thoeris; I owe these suggestions to Mr R. G. Cowlin. For the equation of Athena with Thoeris at this period see M. Vandoni, *Acme* 7 (1954) 307-12; P. Merton II 73 introd.; XLI 2976 introd.

20] (vac.) (). There is room for writing to the left but no trace of ink. The colour of the ink and slope of the hand indicate a different hand from what follows. As the document is an original, not a copy, one might expect a salutation in the hand of the strategus or royal scribe by way of validation, but I am unable to read any of the customary formulae.

For a γραμματεὺς attached to a strategus cf. XIV 1663 13; P. Wisc. II 73. 24.

21 A.D. 147/8 is referred to as 'the past 11th year' in 5-6, which permits the restoration of the regnal year number here.

3473. DECLARATION OF TEMPLE PROPERTY, ETC.

45 5B.54/G (5-8)a

7.5 × 22.5 cm.

A.D. 161-9

The central portion of this document is well preserved, but the first two lines have been almost completely effaced and the foot, like two detached fragments clearly from that area, is discoloured and abraded. Virtually nothing can be read in the damaged parts. On the back there is an account published as **3492**.

The document bears a resemblance to the lists of priests, income, furniture, etc., that were submitted annually by all temples and I therefore give a table of the ones known to me.

150 or 139 B.C.	P. Grenf. I 14	List of objects deposited in a temple
1st cent. A.D.	BGU III 781	List of objects
107/8	P. Tebt. II 298	γραφὴ ἱερέων
116	P. Bacchias I	γραφὴ ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ
138 or later	SPP XXII 183	List of income and expenditure
138-61	P. Lugd. Bat. XVII I	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
161-9	3473	γρ. ἀναθημάτων καὶ προσόδων
171	P. Bacchias 2	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
171	P. Lund III 6	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
172	P. Lund III 5	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
177-81	BGU II 387	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
188	P. Lund IV 2	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
170 or later	BGU I 162 + II 590 = W. Chr. 91	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
185/6	BGU IV 1023	γρ. θεαγῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀποκειμένων
184-92	P. Lund III 4	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
193	P. Lond. II 345 = W. Chr. 102	γρ. παστοφόρων καὶ χειρισμοῦ
c. 195	P. Erl. 21	Temple inventory
197	P. Bour. 41a	List of priests, etc.
II	BGU II 488	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
II	III 521	List of objects
II	P. Bacchias 7	List of furniture
late II	P. Lund II 3	List of priests
213-17	XII 1449	γραφὴ ἀναθημάτων
259	P. Ryl. II 110	γραφὴ χειρισμῶν

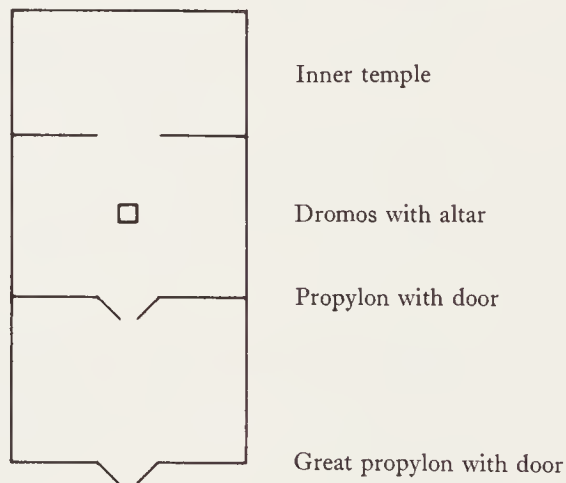
II-III	BGU 1 338 + 1	List of temple lamps and expenditure
III	PSI VIII 950	Temple inventory

On these lists and on temple administration in general see W. Otto, *Priester u. Tempel*, esp. II 150; W. Gdz., 128; T. Grassi, *Le liste templari*, in *Studi della Scuola Papirologica*, IV, 4 (Milan, 1926); *Aegyptus* 12 (1932) 317-28; P. Bacchias, introd.; P. Lund IV 2-5; *YCS* 17 (1961) 143-283.

No other list, however, is styled *γραφὴ ἀναθημάτων καὶ προσόδων* like the present one and none seems to be submitted by a single man, who is in all likelihood not even a priest but a pastophorus (cf. 23, 27, 30 and 32). Some illumination may be had from XII 1435, which is a taxation return made by tax-collectors to the strategus concerning two pastophori who are attached to different temples. The two pastophori may have made individual declarations that resembled the present document. But if the present document is a declaration of the income and expenditure of a single pastophorus it remains mysterious why he also includes an inventory of the furniture of the temple.

The order in which the objects are listed is instructive, as it may allow us to construct a plan of the temple of Apollo at Pela, though not a very detailed one. It is clearly suggested that the inventory begins in the inner part of the temple where cult statues were kept in their shrines, together with figurines of hawks, lamps, automenias, trumpets and two altars. Just outside the inner sanctum was another altar in the dromos. The dromos was closed by a propylon and outside this may have been a court where various burners were kept. This in turn was closed by the great propylon.

A rough plan of the temple may be drawn thus:



I have tried a very rough identification of the objects mentioned with actual objects found in Egypt (cf. notes), but it is clear that a great deal more is to be done in this line. As this part of the work would be better done by a specialist in Egyptian archaeology, it has been set aside for a joint article with Professor J. R. Harris, who has kindly taken an interest in the text and promised his help.

A useful collection of sources concerning pastophori has appeared since I finished this account: Hans-Bernhard Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 80, Diss. Köln, 1976).

(25-30 letters)

(25-30 letters)

- Ἄπολλωνος .[. .]. κλειτου καὶ τῶν ζυγ-
 νάων θεῶν με. () ἱεροῦ λογίμου τοῦ
 5 ὄντος ἐν τῇ α(ὕτῃ) Πέλα. γραφὴ ἀνα[θ]η-
 μάτων καὶ προσόδ(ων) τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) .[(ἔτους)
 τῶν κυρίων Α[ὕτ]οκρατόρων Μάρκου
 Ἀύρηλίου Ἀν[των]ίνου καὶ Λουκίου
 Ἀύρηλίου Οὐήρου, ὧν ἔστιν τὸ καθ' ἑν: —
 10 ἀνδριάντες Ἄπολλωνος ἱερακομό(ρφου)
 χαλ(κοῖ) γ̄ ἐν θήκαις ξυλ(ίνας) γ̄, ἱέρακες χαλ(κοῖ) γ̄,
 ὧν β̄ διακολ(ληθέντες?) χυτῶ λίθω, λυχνίαι
 χαλ(καῖ) μεικ(ραῖ) γ̄, αυτομενικ ξυλ(ιν-) περικεχ(ρυσωμεν-) ā,
 κάλ(πιγγες) χαλ(καῖ) ἱερατικ(αῖ) β̄, βωμὸς λίθ(ινος) ā,
 15 βωμὸς ἔτ(ερος) χαλ(κοῦς) αρτ() ā, βωμὸς ἐν
 τῷ δρόμω χαλ(κοῦς) ā. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ προπυλ(αίου)
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ θύρα περικεχαλ(κισμένη) τὸ ἔμπρο-
 σθεν ā, ἣ ἐνεκεο. () προτομ(αῖ) χαλ(καῖ) β̄
 Σαράπιδος καὶ Ἄπολλωνος, θυμια-
 20 τήρια χαλ(κᾶ) καλ(πιγγωτὰ) δ̄, Βησᾶς χαλ(κοῦς) ā, πυρην
 σιδη(ρ-) ā, λαβίς ὁμοί(ως) ā, καὶ ἐν τῷ μεγάλ(ω)
 προπυλ(αίω) θύρα περικεχαλ(κισμένη) ā. καὶ λαμ-
 βάνω παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ταῖς ἐπω-
 νύμ(οις) ἡμέραις μέτρα χαλ(κᾶ) ἱερατικὰ β̄
 25 σὺν τροχίσκω σιδηρῶ ā, ἃ παραδί-
 δωμι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὴν ἑορτήν. ὑπό-
 κείται δέ μοι παρὰ τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἱερ(έων)

κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἕκαστος παρητ() ἐν τῇ
 ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς δια-
 30 τροφήν αἱ συνήθως διδόμε(ναι) παστοφό(ρω)
 ὑπηρετο(ῦντι) τῷ ἱερῷ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ἰβ̄, αἶ καὶ διὰ λόγ(ου)
 τῶν ἱερέων ἀναλαμβάν(ονται), καὶ ἀπὸ δρα-
 γματολ(ογ) καὶ . παρὰ τῶν τῆς κώμης γε-
 ωργῶν καὶ κληρούχ(ων) βουλομ(ένων) διδόναι κατ'
 35 εὐσέβειαν ἀπὸ τῶν παλ(αιῶν) χρόνω(ν) ἐξ οὗ
 συνάγο(νται ?) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) .. καὶ ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) μη,
 ἀνθ' ὧν ἀναλ(ώματος):—
 εἰς ἐπιστατικ(όν) ἱερ.....τω()κατατ()
[...]. c. 20 letters
 φιλανθρω[...].[...].[...].[...].
 40[
 των.....[
των[
[
[

(2 small damaged fragments not transcribed)

5 $\bar{a} = \alpha(\dot{\nu}\tau\eta)$	6 $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma^{\delta}, \epsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma^{\tau}$	10 $\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\mu^{\circ}$	11 $\chi\acute{\alpha}, \xi\acute{\upsilon}, \chi\acute{\alpha}$	12 $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}$	13 $\chi\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota^{\kappa}$,
$\xi\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$	14 $\sigma\alpha\lambda\chi\acute{\alpha}\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\iota^{\kappa}, \lambda\iota^{\theta}$	15 $\epsilon^{\tau}\chi\acute{\alpha}\alpha\rho^{\tau}$	16 $\chi\acute{\alpha}, \pi\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\upsilon}$	17 $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\epsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}$	18 $\pi\rho\tau\omicron\chi\acute{\alpha}$
20 $\chi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\lambda), \chi\acute{\alpha}$	21 $\sigma\iota\delta^{\eta}, \omicron\mu\omicron^{\iota}, \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}$	22 $\pi\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\upsilon}, \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\epsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}$	23-4 $\epsilon\pi\omega\nu\acute{\upsilon}$	24 $\chi\acute{\alpha}$	26 $\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron$
27 $\iota\epsilon\rho\upsilon\nu\epsilon\rho^{\iota}$	28 $\pi\alpha\rho\eta^{\tau}$	30 $\delta\iota\delta\omicron^{\mu}\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\phi^{\circ}$	31 $\dot{\upsilon}\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron, +. \bar{\sigma}, \lambda\omicron^{\gamma}$	32 $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\beta^{\iota}$	
32-3 $\delta\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}$	34 $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\upsilon\chi^{\iota}\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron^{\mu}$	35 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\omicron\nu^{\omega}$	36 $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\omicron +. \bar{\sigma}, \acute{\alpha}\rho^{\gamma}\delta, \dot{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$	37 $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota^{\kappa},$	
$\tau^{\omega}\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$					

...of the famous temple of Apollo...and the associated gods which is in the same Pela. List of offerings and income for the present *n*th year of the lords emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Verus, of which the separate items are: 3 bronze statues of the hawk-shaped Apollo in 3 wooden shrines; 3 bronze hawks of which 2 are inlaid (?) with glass (?); 3 small bronze lamps; 1 gilded wooden *automenis*; 2 sacred bronze trumpets; 1 stone altar; 1 other altar of bronze...; 1 bronze altar in the court. In the propylaeum of the temple there are: 1 door, plated on the front with bronze, into which are embedded (?) 2 bronze busts of Sarapis and Apollo; 4 bronze trumpet-shaped incense burners; 1 bronze Bes; 1 iron brazier (?); 1 pair of tongs likewise (of iron). And in the great propylaeum there is 1 bronze-plated door. And on the eponymous days I receive from the priests 2 hieratic bronze measures with 1 iron wheel (?), which I return to them after the festival. There are reserved to me from the priests of the temple who are present (?) each in succession in the service of the god and the temple, for my sustenance, the 12 artabas of wheat usually given to a pastophorus who serves the temple, which are also included in the priests' account, and from the gleanings (?), and...from the farmers and cleruchs of the village who are willing to give from piety since ancient times, (...?), from which a total is derived of...artabas of wheat and 48 drachmas of money. Against these, expenditure: for the overseer tax...'

1-2 The damage is so severe that no letters can be read for certain. The shortage of space suggests that the address was omitted. The royal scribe is the usual recipient of such declarations. The text here might well have begun with *παρά* followed by the name and filiation of the declarant, in more or less detail, origin (cf. 5), and function in the temple.

3 [. . .]. *κλειτου* appears to be a cult title of Apollo. The possibilities given in P. Kretschmer-E. Locker, *Ruckläufiges Wb.*, are *ἀγα-*, *τηλε-*, *περι-*, *δουρι-*, and *ναυικλειτός*. The last three are excluded here by the remains of a ligature joining the kappa. A name, like Heracleitus etc., would seem to be out of place here.

4 *με . ()*. Here we expect *μεγάλων* or *μεγίστων*, see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon*, s.vv. Instead the remains seem to suit *μεικ(ρῶν)*, written with a long iota and a raised cursive kappa in much the same way as in *μεικ(ραί)* in 13. This is not recorded in Ronchi, op. cit., and it is doubtful whether such a sense, 'the associated little gods', could have been acceptable.

5-6 *ἀνα[θ]ημάτων*. Cf. XII 1449 7. The parallel seems to justify the restoration, though the remains are very slight.

6 The trace of the year number is a mere dot. The joint reign of Marcus and Verus covered nine Graeco-Egyptian years, A.D. 161-168/9. This form of the titulature is not listed in P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 77-82.

10 The word *ιερακόμορφος* is new in the papyri, unless it is to be restored in PSI VIII 950, a very fragmentary inventory of a temple of Apollo, where lines 14 and 16 have forms of a word ending in *-κόμορφος*. These statues will probably have been hawk-headed, like the bronze statuette from Saqqara illustrated in *JEA* 56 (1970), pl. VIII.

11 The wooden cases may have been shrines like those illustrated in *JEA* 56 (1970), pl. LXVI.

ιέρακες. Statues of hawks do not to my knowledge occur in any other temple inventory. They are, however, quite commonly found in Egypt. Cf. *JEA* 57 (1971), pl. VII for an illustration of a bronze falcon with inlaid eyes, pl. IX for other bronzes in the same shape.

12 *διακολ(ληθέντες?) χυτῶ λίθω*. 'Cast stone' is probably glass, see LSJ s.v. *λίθος* II, referring especially to Epin. 1. 8, which mentions a drinking cup of *χυτῆς λίθου* (fem.). In this case the two bronze hawks may have had applied or inlaid decoration of glass. If *διακολ(ληθέντες)* or another cognate is the right expansion, that in turn suggests that in Luc. *Hipp.* 6 the *διάδρομος Νομάδι λίθω διακεκολλημένος* was a passageway with decorative panels of *giallo antico* rather than that it was 'formed' of that stone 'morticed together', as LSJ s.v. *διακολλάω* would translate it.

13 *αυτομενις*. Cf. BGU II 387 ii 4, where we also find *αυτομενις ξυλ()* in another temple inventory. The meaning is unknown.

14 *cάλ(πιγγες)*. Cf. SB X 10281 = P. Lugd. Bat. XVII 1. A *cάλπιγξ ιερατική* is mentioned by Lydus, *De mensibus*, IV 73, but is not described. According to Artemidorus I, 56 it was a straight trumpet, since a *ιέρα cάλπιγξ* is described as the opposite of a *cτρογγύλη*. These may have been like the trumpets(?) illustrated in *JEA* 57 (1971), pl. V (3).

15 *αρτ()*. No satisfactory expansion has yet been suggested: *χαλ(κῶ) ἀρτ(ηθείς)*, 'clamped with bronze', will clearly not suit, because *χαλ()* is the adjective in every other case, and we actually have a *βωμός . . . χαλ(κούς)* following in 15-16.

18 *ενκεκο,()*. The final element is cross-shaped and raised. It looks most like an iota with a horizontal stroke through it, cf. e.g. XLIII 3121 I *αρρ*. Perhaps *ἐγκεκοι(τασμένοι εἰσίν)*, 'are embedded', would do, or *ἐγκεκοί(λανται)*, 'have been hollowed out'. Neither of these uncommon words can be accepted here without confirmation. More promising might be *ἐγκολάπτω* 'engrave', but the doubtful letter is very different from the other raised lambdas.

19-20 Cf. the illustrations in *JEA* 57 (1971) 7, figs. 1-3, for trumpet-shaped incense burners.

20 *πυρην*. It looks as if the edge of the document is preserved, though *πύρνοι* in P. Lugd. Bat. XVII I ii 20 and *πύρναι* in BGU II 590. I suggest the possibility that *πυρην* here is not complete. If it is complete, it might represent a vulgar spelling of *πυρέιον* through a series of phonetic changes, *πυρέιον* = *πυρίον* = *πυρίν* = *πυρήν*. See CP 43 (1948) 243-60 for the reduction of *-ιον* to *-ν*. The other changes are simple iotacisms. Suidas equates *πυρέιον* with *θυμιατήριον*, but cf. 19-20 here. Perhaps it was a brazier, see Hesych. *πυρέιον. ἀγγεῖον κεράμειον εἰς πυρὸς ἐνθεεῖν*. The object here, however, is of iron, not pot.

21 *λαβίς* = 'tongs', probably like those shown in *JEA* 57 (1971) 8, figs. 19-20. Cf. the *λαβίδια* in P. Lugd. Bat. XVII I ii 12.

23-4 ἐπώνυμοις ἡμέραις seem to be synonymous with ἐορτή in 26. Cf. OGIS I 194. 41 τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἐορτάζειν εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν [ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ νομίζειν ἐ]πάννυμον τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν.

24-5 μέτρα χαλκᾶ ἱερατικά are unparalleled in the inventories. Grain measures are sometimes named after temples, see D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen z. Bodenpacht*. The measures may have contained grain for use in the rites. The τροχίσκος might perhaps have been a round flat dish for taking small quantities of it.

26-35 The construction of this passage is somewhat confused. We might expect ὑπόκεινται in the plural followed by sums of artabas and drachmas as subject and finally a total introduced by ἐξ ὧν συνάγονται.

28 παρητ() or παιητ() seem to be the only possible readings. Perhaps a conjunction has dropped out, e.g. κατὰ διαδοχὴν <ὅταν> ἕκαστος παρῆ τ(οῖς ?) ἐν τῇ ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, 'in turn, whenever each attends the festivities (?) at the purification of the god and the temple'. If this train of thought is right, the temple of Apollo is normally attended only by the pastophorus, who assists a visiting priest on special occasions and receives an allowance from him. The same sort of situation arises perhaps in XXXVI 2782, instructions to a priestess to go and celebrate rites in a village.

32-3 δραγματολ(). The only word I can find is δραγματολόγος, which is attested only from Hesychius (= ὁ τὰ δράγματα συνάγων: LSJ's 'gleaning' is wrong). However, the preposition ἀπό, the lack of the definite article, and common sense seem to exclude gleaners being mentioned along with farmers and cleruchs as pious donors. A word δραγματολογία, 'gleaning', is not so far attested, but would be an unobjectionable formation and suitable here.

33 The much-damaged remains after καί would suit alpha. Perhaps the writer began ἀπό in place of παρά. He may even have deleted it.

33-5 παρὰ τῶν . . . βουλομένων διδόναι κατ' εὐσέβειαν. Cf. P. Tebt. II 298. 45 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξ εὐ[σεβ(είας) δι]δομένων ἡ[μί]ν.

36 ἀνθ' ὧν ἀναλ(ώματος). Cf. P. Lond. III 1171. 20 (p. 178), ἀνθ' ὧν λήμματος.

37 ἐπιστατικόν. Cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 252-3.

3474. APPLICATION FOR A LOAN OF SEED CORN

69/38(a)

87 × 34.5 cm.

A.D. 197/8

A request, damaged at the top, presented by Ischyron son of Heradion to the commission charged with the distribution of seed corn, for the purpose of obtaining a loan of seed corn in the ratio of 17 artabas of grain for 17 aruras of 'royal' land, cultivated by Ischyron in a *kleros* in the vicinity of the village of Tholthis, to be used for the sowing of the current sixth year of Severus and Caracalla = A.D. 197/8.

The applicant undertakes to use the seed in the approved manner and to repay the loan with interest at the following harvest. Parallels from the Roman period are P. Hamb. I 19 (A.D. 225); VII 1031 (A.D. 228; = W. *Chr.* 343); *SPP* XX 34 (A.D. 232/3), and P. Flor. I 21 (A.D. 239); also P. Coll. Youtie 22 (A.D. 87/8) and 26 (A.D. 156), with references. See too P. Köln III 137, P. Oxy. Hels. 24, and H.-A. Rupprecht, *Unters. zum Darlehen (Münch. Beitr.* 51: C. H. Beck, Munich, 1967), 157-60. 3474 is distinguished (a) by the lack of a date at the foot (there is an extensive blank lower margin) - cf. P. Coll. Youtie 26 which also has no formal date-clause; (b) by the declaration of an Alexandrian guarantor in 33-7, and (c) by the references (10-12, 20-1) to orders of the prefect (Aemilius Saturninus). For 'loans' or 'advances' of seed corn see C. Michurski, *Eos* 48. 3 (1956: = *Symb. Taubenschlag* III), 105-38; his theses are complicated further by 3474. The prefect's order in the present instance is obviously general and not specifically linked to Ischyron's application, but it remains unclear

whether it was a routine and regular instruction, or whether in this year there were extraordinary reasons for it, for example a low Nile flood in A.D. 196 (so producing a low yield in 197's harvest) for which there is some evidence: D. Bonneau, *Le Fisc et le Nil*, 252.

In the lower margin are two lines of docketts in different hands, and there is a further docket along the fibres on the back.

-
- [c. 19 letters] .μο[...]
 τοῦ [c. 15] ἐξηγητ(εύσαντι)
 αἶρε[θ(εἰσι) ἐπὶ κατασπορᾶς] καὶ ἀν[α-]
 δόσεως σπερ[μ(άτων)] χ[ωρο]ύντ(ων)
 5 εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἐνε[ς]τ(ῶτος) ζ (ἔτους) κατασ(ποράν)
 παρὰ Ἴσχυρίωνος [Ἡραδίωνος] τοῦ Ἴσχ[(υρίωνος)]
 ἀπ' Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(εως). αἰτοῦ[μαι] παραμε-
 τρηθ(ῆναι) παρ' ὑμῶ[ν εἰς] σ(πέρματα) δάνεια
 (πυροῦ) γενή(ματος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) ε (ἔτους) εἰς τὴν τοῦ
 10 ἐνε(τῶτος) ζ (ἔτους) κατασ(ποράν), κατὰ τὰ δόξαντ(α)
 Αἰμιλλίω Κατουρνείω τῷ
 λαμ(προτάτῳ) ἡγεμόνι, ἧς γεωργ(ῶ) περὶ
 Θῶλ(θιν) Θμοι(σεφῶ) ἐκ τοῦ γενου
 καὶ ἄλ(λων) κλ(ήρου) βασιλ(ικῆς) (ἄρουρας) [[κζ]] (m. 2) ιζ (m. 1) (ἀρτάβας)
 [[κζ]] (m. 2) ις,
 15 (m. 1) ἄσπερ κοκκολογήσας ἀπὸ κριθ(ῆς)
 καὶ αἶρ[η]ς καταθήσω εἰς τὴν γῆν
 ὑγιῶς καὶ πιστῶς ἐπακολουθ(ούντων)
 τῶν εἰς τοῦτο προκεχειρισμέ(νων)
 ἐπὶ κατασπορ(άν) καὶ ὧν ἄλ(λων) προσήκει
 20 κατ' ἐνκέλε(υσιν) τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) ἡγεμόνος
 Αἰμιλλίου Κατουρνείου
 καὶ ἐκ νέων ἀποδώσω σὺν τοῖς
 ἐπομένοις ἅμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς
 τελέεμασι τοῦ ἐνε(τῶτος) ζ (ἔτους),
 25 καὶ ὀμνύω τὴν Λουκίου
 Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβο(ῦς)

Περτίγακος Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβικ(οῦ)
 Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ καὶ Μάρκου
 Ἀὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
 30 ἀποδεδειγ(μένου) Ἀὐτοκράτορος
 τύχην μὴ ἐψεῦσθ(αι). Ἴσχυρίων
 Ἡραδίωνος ἐπιδ(έδωκα) καὶ ἀποδώσω
 ἐκ νέων ὡς πρόκειται. (m. 3) Ἰσίδωρος Ἰσι-
 δώρου τῶν Ἡρακλείδου Ὡσικός(μιος)
 35 ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς ἐγγυῶμαι τὸν
 προγεγραμμένον εἰς ἔκτισιν
 ὡς πρόκειται.

(m. 4)] . []ς κολ() ψ() . () ις

(m. 5?)] γρα() . . . ()

Back, downwards along the fibres:

40 (m. 4 ?) Ἴ]σχυρίων Ἡραδίωνος
] . [.] . . [.] κα

11 *Κατουρνήνω*: ρ damaged; ductus of εἰ obscured perhaps by a correction 33 ἰσιδωρος ἰσι
 37 Below this line a blank space of 3 cm. 38]ς: οἱ]ς 39 γρα(): οἱ γρα()

(2-37) '... ex-exegetes, appointed to supervise the sowing and the distribution of seed corn destined for the sowing of the present 6th year, from Ischyriion son of Heradion and grandson of Ischyriion, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. I apply to have measured out to me from you as a loan of seed corn (2nd hand) 17 (1st hand) artabas of wheat from the produce of the past 5th year for the sowing of the present 6th year, in accordance with the decisions of Aemilius Saturninus the most illustrious prefect, for the (2nd hand) 17 (1st hand) aruras of royal land which I farm near Tholthis (in the toparchy of Thmoisepho out of the allotment of... genes and others; which (artabas) I shall clean of barley and darnel and sow in the ground honestly and in good faith under the supervision of those appointed for this purpose over the sowing and of such others as is fitting, in accordance with the order of the most illustrious prefect Aemilius Saturninus; and I shall repay (them) out of the new crop with the accompaniments together with the dues on the land for the present 6th year; and I swear by the fortune of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar, Imperator-designate, that I have not lied. I, Ischyriion son of Heradion, presented this, and I will repay from the new crop as aforesaid.' (3rd hand) 'I, Isidorus son of Isidorus and grandson of Heracleides, of the Sosicosmian tribe and Althaeian deme, guarantee repayment as aforesaid by the person above-written.'

1 Three letters would be the maximum for the final lacuna. Possibly *Χαιρ]ήμω[νος]*?

3-4 The restoration of these lines is conjectural.

11 Q. Aemilius Saturninus is attested as prefect of Egypt from 197 until 199/200: see G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 304. 3474 does not alter the dates of his tenure.

13 I have not succeeded in reading the name of the *kleros*-holder, which does not appear to be one recorded in P. Pruneti, *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 159-204.

14 [[κζ]], [[κζ]]. The first set is almost totally erased, and is restored by analogy with the second. The second ζ is clear but κ is conjectural on the assumption that the deleted first figure was not ι.

19 ὧν ἄλ(λων) προσήκει. Cf. SPP xx 34. 22.

25-30 The imperial titulature is closely but not precisely paralleled by examples in P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales*, 95-6.

33-7 For the guarantee cf. P. Iand. 30.

38-9 The sense of the docket remains elusive. Only the figure ιζ in 38 recalls the quantity of aruras and/or artabas inserted as a correction in 14.

41 Not, presumably, ἐπιδέδωκα (cf. 32). Possibly a reference to the month and day? Contrast the introd. above, pointing out the absence of a date-clause, and P. Coll. Youtie 26 introd. (p. 236) on the lack of need of a date in texts of this type.

It is not clear whether scattered ink traces to the right of and below what is transcribed are from writing or are just blots.

3475. REPORT OF DIKE SUPERINTENDENTS

69/19(a)

6 × 25 cm.

16 March A.D. 220

Two superintendents of the dikes present an account (in naubia) of the work carried out on the dikes of the canals of a specified area of the Oxyrhynchite nome during a five-day period. Cf. P. Giss. 64. 9-12, mentioning a λόγος πενθημέ(ρου) in connexion with χωματεπιμεληταί. No texts precisely parallel to the present one are known to me. XII 1546 (late third century A.D.) is very similar but may not be concerned with a five-day period.

χωματοε() in 3-4, cf. 32, should probably be expanded χωματοε(πιμελητῶν) rather than χωματοε(πεικτῶν), cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aeg.* 44 (1964) 17-19. If this is right, then if XII 1546 (which Sijpesteijn, loc. cit. 17 n. 3, has supposed to refer to χωματεπείκεται rather than χωματεπιμεληταί) is set aside, 3475 would provide the latest evidence for χωματεπιμεληταί, previously attested at the latest¹ in A.D. 181/2 from BGU I 12 (= W. Chr. 389). 11; cf. N. Lewis, *Inv. Comp. Serv.*, s.v. There still remains a gap of nearly eighty years before the first dated occurrence of the χωματεπείκτης, A.D. 298 from XII 1469 20, see Lewis, op. cit. s.v.

Across the fibres on the back there is a 23-line account, more or less complete, with sums in drachmas, in a different and very cursive third-century hand.

παρὰ Αὐρη[λί]ου Πετεύριος
καὶ τοῦ εὐ[ν] αὐτῶ χωμα-
τοε(πιμελητῶν) λιβ(ός) τ[ο](παρχίας) νοτίνης μερ[ί]-
5 δος. λόγος [τῶ]ν εἰργασμένω[ν]
δι' ἡμῶν . . [.]. [.]. ν(αυβίων) εἰς
τὰ τῆς α(ὐτῆς) μερίδος δημόσια
χώματα τῶν ἀπὸ ις⁻
ἕως κ⁻ καὶ αὐτῆς κ[⁻]

¹ See now BGU XIII 2265 (c. A.D. 206)

- 10 τοῦ μηνὸς Φαμενώθ
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος γ (ἔτους) [Μ]άρκο[υ]
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου {Καί}
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. ἔστι δέ·
 χωμάτων κλη(ήρου) κατ(οικικοῦ) (πρότερον)
- 15 Κολλούθου Ἀπολλωνίου
 διακο() πρ.[.]. . . . ν(αυβι-)
 ναύβ(ια) ρξηLd⁻
 ὦν
 Cenekeleu(εὐ) ἀνδ(ρες) ιε⁻ ν(αύβια) ραd[⁻]
- 20 Ceryphos(εὐ) ἀνδ(ρες) ι⁻ ν(αύβια) ξζL⁻
 ἐπιβολ(ῆς) καὶ πλ(εονασμοῦ) ν(αύβια) νδ
 ὦν
 ἀνδ(ρες) δ⁻ ν(αύβια) κζ⁻
 Cenekeleu(εὐ) ἀνδ(ρες) δ⁻ ν(αύβια) κζ⁻
- 25 (γίνονται) τῆς (πενθημέρου) ἀνδ(ρες) λγ⁻
 ν(αύβια) κβLd⁻
 (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 [Ἀντωνίνου] Εὐσεβοῦς
- 30 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ,
 Φαμενώθ κ⁻.
 Πετεῦρις χωματοε(πιμελητῆς) δι' ἐ-
 μοῦ Αὐρηλίου Ἀγαθοῦ Δαί-
 μονος γρ(αμματέως) ἐπιδ(έδωκα).

32 Πετεῦρις: π corr. from α?

(2 ff.) 'From Aurelius Peteuris and his colleague, superintendents of the dikes of the southern section of the western toparchy. Account of the naubia dug through us the undersigned(?), for the public dikes of the same section, from the 16th to the 20th inclusive of the month of Phamenoth of the current 3rd year of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord. As follows:

For the breaches(?) in the dikes on a catoecic allotment formerly belonging(?) to Colluthus, son of Apollonius, . . . naubia 168 $\frac{3}{4}$, made up as follows:

	Senekelou	men 15	naubia 101 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Seryphis	men 10	naubia 67 $\frac{1}{2}$
for imposition and addition, naubia 54, made up as follows:	(Seryphis)	men 4	naubia 27
	Senekelou	men 4	naubia 27
total for the 5-day period:		men 33	naubia 222 $\frac{3}{4}$.

The 3rd year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius [[Antoninus]] Pius Felix Augustus, Phamenoth 20.

I, Peteuris, superintendent of the dikes, have presented this, through me, Aurelius Agathodaemon, secretary.'

1 Traces and interpretation are puzzling. *Prima facie* an alpha can be seen, and possibly ἀ(ντίγραφον) should be read; in favour of classifying the document as a copy are the absence (on this reading!) of an addressee and the fact of the subscription in 32–4 being written without a change of hand. Alternatively, should the traces be taken as the residue of the address? There are faint scatterings of ink all the way back to the line-beginning point, and the first (slightly in ecthesis) might be read as α, as part of an address to the strategus Aurelius Harpocraton, with the printed traces belonging to his abbreviated title; for Aurelius Harpocraton as strategus at this time, see XLIII 3131 1 and n., and the strategus (or basilicogrammateus) would be the expected recipient of the report on the analogy of five-day accounts sent in by other officials (cf. e.g. XXVII 2472, P. Mert. III 102, P. Oslo III 89–91 and PSI III 160). Nevertheless, the traces prior to those printed are exceedingly faint and may be simply blots or offsets. The printed traces might, as a further possibility, be from a column or item number. I am inclined to think that line 1 is in the same hand as the rest of the document, although judgment is difficult with such minimal evidence.

3–5 For χωματεπιμεληταί see the introduction above and P. Coll. Youtie 21. 10 n. with references; also R. Hübner, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 43–53 (= 3508), with the corrective of N. Lewis, *ZPE* 31 (1978) 141–2. The form χωματοεπιμελητής recurs in P. Giss. 58 ii 15 (A.D. 116), P. Lond. III 1159 (p. 113: = *W. Chr.* 415). 39 (A.D. 144–7), and P. Coll. Youtie 21 (= XLV 3264). 10 (A.D. 80/81). It was already known that the χωματεπιμεληταί were linked in 'colleges' of two persons. Sijpesteijn, *Aeg.* 44 (1964) 9–16, has further formulated the hypothesis that each of the two was responsible for a whole toparchy, whereas from 3475 it seems rather the case that their competence was limited, for both, to the same area *within* a toparchy (in 3475 to the southern section of the western toparchy). For the μερίς as an administrative subdivision of a toparchy see P. Köln III 137. 22–3 n.

5 In analogous documents the expression λόγος τῶν introduces a participle, either passive or with intransitive force: cf. λόγος τῶν διαγεγραμμένων, P. Fay. 41 i 6, and λόγος τῶν περιγεγονότων, XXVII 2472 6–7. It seems likely that in the present text the participle εἰργασμένων should have passive force (cf. Mayser II. 1 p. 121, Kühner-Gerth I p. 120), so that in 6 we should expand ν(αυβίων); cf. W. Ost. 1222. 2–4, ναυβίων μὴ (see W. Gdz. p. 337 n. 1) ἀπεργασθέντων.

6 δι' ἡμῶν. Cf., in the case of χωματεπιμεληταί, P. Harr. 76. 1, O. Mich. 294. 2 and 813. 1; Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 69 no. 6 and p. 72 no. 39. After δι' ἡμῶν, perhaps τῶν [ύ]πο[γ]ε(γραμμένων)?

8–10 12–16 March. The work here attested falls at the beginning of the period in which the activity of maintaining the dikes and canals appears most intense, from Phamenoth to Mesore, as the greater numbers of *naubion*-certificates and *penthemeros*-certificates dated to these months indicate, see Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, pp. 10 and 20, cf. XII 1409 7–8 (March–April A.D. 278) and P. Yale inv. 447 (third century A.D.) in *CE* 49 (1974) 338 seqq.

9 καὶ αὐτῆς κ[]. Cf. e.g. P. Mert. III 102. 7.

12 {Καί}. The writer began Καίσαρος but finding he had too little space began the word afresh in the next line, without (it seems) cancelling the three letters already written.

14 The second half of the line is very uncertain. Very little remains of ων of χωμάτων but there is no indication that the word was abbreviated. At end, (πρότερον): α' pap.

14–15 The κλήρος would be an *addendum* to those listed by P. Pruneti, *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 159–244.

16 διακο(): after omicron a bracket-shaped curve, open to the left and with a lengthened tail. The form is typical of words continuing with π (cf. τ[ο](παρχίας), 4). One may think of a word such as διάκο(πος), a breach or opening in the dike (cf. XII 1409 16 and 1469 6 and P. Iand. 139. 21) which requires repair-work (on the meanings of διάκοπος see the note to P. Petaus 18. 24–5). Another, similar possibility would be to suppose a genitive participle, χωμάτων . . . διακο(πέντων). Seemingly we may exclude reading διακό(νου) or διάκο(νος) as a description of Colluthus.

At the end of the line apparently the abbreviation ν(αυβι-). The word occurs again at the start of the next line. Was it written twice in error, on a par with Καίσαρος in 12–13?

21 The extra quantity of *naubia* dug by a further group of 8 men, on account of ἐπιβολή and πλεοναμός,

may be explained if the *δημόσια χώματα* (7–8) in question related to an estate originally private and burdened with *ἐπιβολή* and *πλεοναμός* (see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 20–1, A. Świderek, *JJP* 16–17 (1971) 38–9) which brought with them supplementary obligations to work on the dikes, even now that the land has been confiscated by the state.

23 These figures clearly refer to the village of Seryphis.

25–6 (*πενθημέρου*): here clearly no more than a five-day accounting period (cf. 8–9 above). The text is not relevant to the question of the existence of the *πενθημέρος*-obligation outside the Arsinoite nome, denied by Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, 1–2. The use of the word in P. Giss. 64. 12, discussed there by Sijpesteijn, is surely to be explained in the same way, and the present text will represent precisely the type of five-day account referred to.

The naubia/man/day relationship is consistently (19 seqq.) 6.75 naubia per man per 5 days (= 1.35 naubia per man per day), and so in excess of the *πενταναυβία*-requirement (see XXXVIII 2847 21–2, P. Coll. Youtie 21. 14).

29 The *damnatio memoriae* of Elagabalus has apparently not occurred before on papyrus. This example has been referred to in the introduction to XLVI 3298. Note that here (but not in 12) *Ἀντωνίνου* alone is cancelled: cf. *HA* xviii 2, *hoc nomen* (that is, Antoninus) *ex annalibus senatus auctoritate erasum est*. The cancellation of the name Antoninus is amply attested in inscriptions, both Greek (IGRR III 62) and Latin (e.g. ILS I 466, 468, 471, etc.); sometimes all of the emperor's names are affected by the erasure (IGRR 687, III 1228; ILS I 469, 470, II 7083). In ILS II 5836 the names of Severus Alexander have been substituted for those of Elagabalus. Apart from the case of Geta, for which see P. Mertens, *Hommages à Léon Herrmann* (Coll. Latomus 44: Bruxelles, 1960), 541–52, there are relatively few examples of *damnatio memoriae* on papyrus: see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 220 n. 6. In general, see A. K. Bowman, *JRS* 66 (1976) 156.

32 See the *app. crit.* Was it intended to begin the line with *Ἀυρήλιος* (cf. 2)? If so, there is no clear reason for the change of plan.

34 A *γραμματεὺς* subordinate to the *χωματεπιμελητής* is also attested in a number of *naubion*-certificates: *W. Ost.* 1410; 1411, *O. Theb.* 127 and (?)*O. Tait* I iv 77 (see *BL* v p. 160).

ἐπιδ(έδωκα). For the first person, in spite of the formula *δι' ἐμοῦ*, see XLIII 3133 21 and n.

3476. SWORN DECLARATION OF Ἀπαρχή

43 5B. 64/K (6–8)a

17.5 × 15 cm.

17 September A.D. 260

The problem of the exact meaning of *aparche* is not solved here, but the new document is of interest because it is more nearly complete than the two parallels P. Ant. I 37 and PSI v 464, which in any case relate to Alexandria, while this is from Antinoopolis. The parents of twin sons, between twenty and thirty days old, make their declaration about the *aparche* of the children to the council of Antinoopolis. The essential words are *ὀμνύομεν...τάσσεσθαι ἀπαρχήν*. It is interesting to compare this with PSI IX 1067 (A.D. 236; see *ZPE* 11 (1973) 154–5), where the parents of a twenty-nine-day-old daughter submit a petition to the Antinoite council with the essential wording as follows: *βουλόμενοι ἀπαρχήν...θυγατρός...ἀξιοῦμεν συντάξαι τῷ γραμματεῖ θέσθαι...ἀπαρχήν*. Since it is known from P. Fam. Tebt. 30. 18 (cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 33, P. Turner 29, 30) that *ἀπαρχή*, in one of its uses, is a technical term for an extract from the records equivalent to the modern birth certificate, we can surmise that PSI 1067 was asking for an entry to be made in the records by the secretary of the council or for a document to be drawn up, see LSJ s.v. *τίθημι* v. 3. Perhaps two documents were always submitted to the council in these cases, one a

declaration like 3476 of the registration or payment of the ἀπαρχή, see 9 n., and the other, like PSI 1067, asking for the appropriate entry or document to be written out.

The body of the document (2–13) was written by a professional scribe. The father wrote his own subscription (14–15), an amanuensis wrote and certified a subscription for the mother (15–18), and parts of subscriptions by two witnesses to the boys' identities (γνωστῆρες) survive (19–23). The subscription of a third witness will have been lost at the foot, cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 30. 34. The first line consists of a short notation which may have been an item number, see 1 n. This would indicate that the sheet was incorporated into a roll-file (τόμος συγκολλήσιμος). The back was used again later. Parts of two columns survive and the better preserved is published here as 3477.

(m. 6). .[.].

(m. 1) τῆ κρατίς]τῆ βουλῆ Ἀντιοέων νέων Ἑλλήνων τῆς λαμ[πράς
πόλεως]

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Βησάμμων Σερήνου δημ[οκράτης] εμ[.]-
.. λω.

ὡς] (ἐτῶν) λζ οἰκῶν ἐν τῷ γ γρ(άμματι) πλιθ(είω) ι καὶ ἡ γυνή
Αὐρηλία Π[ε]τρ[ωνία]

5] ὡς (ἐτῶν) κζ θυγατῆρ Εὐδαίμονος Π[ε]] Παυλείνου
τοῦ καὶ

.] χωρὶς κυρίου χρημ(ατίζουσα) δικαίω τέκνων κατὰ τὰ
Ῥωμαίων ἔθη

ὀμνύ]μεν τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου Μακριανοῦ
καὶ Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου Κυιήτου Σεβαστῶν τύχην καὶ θεὸν
μέγιστον

10 Ὀσειραντί]νοον τάσσεσθαι ἀπαρχὴν τῶν γενομένων ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων
διδυμα]γενῶν παίδων Μάρκων Αὐρηλίων Αἰμιλιανοῦ καὶ Εὐδαίμονος
ἡμερῶν κε⁻ παρεχόμενοι γνωστῆρας τοῦς ἐξῆς ὑπογράφοντας.

(ἔτους) α Αὐτοκρατόρων Καϊάρων Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου
Μακριανοῦ

καὶ Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου Κυιήτου Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν,
Θῶθ κ⁻.

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Βησάμμων τέταμαι τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῶν

15 υἱῶν μου ὡς πρόκειται. (m. 3) Αὐρηλία Πετρωνία τέταμαι
τ]ὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῶν υἱῶν μου ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλι[ο]ς Σαρα-
πά]μμων Ἀμμωναρίου Καβίνιος ὁ καὶ Ἀρμονιεύς ἔγραψα

ὑπ]έρ αὐτῆς γράμματα μὴ εἰδυίης. (m. 4) Αὐρήλιος Σαραπάμμων
]]] Ἀμμωνίου Νερου[ι]άνιος ὁ καὶ Γενεάρχιος
 20 c. 18 letters] πα[ιδ]ας Αὐρηλίους Αἰμιλιανὸν
 καὶ Εὐδαίμονα ἡμερῶν] κ̅ε̅ ὡς πρόκειται. (m. 5) Αὐρήλιος Σαρα-
 c. 25 Παυ]λίνιος ὁ καὶ Ὀμόγνιος
 c. 23 παῖδας Αὐρηλίους Αἰ]μ[ι]λιανὸν

 4 Λζ, γρσπλι^θ 5 Λκζ 6 χρη^μ 8 l. Σεβαστῶν 12 Λα 14 l. τέταγμαί 15 l. πρό-
 κείται, τέταγμαί 16 l. πρόκειται 21 l. πρόκειται

(6th hand) 'Number . . . '(?)

(1st hand) 'To the excellent council of the glorious city of the Antinoites the new Greeks.

We, Marcus Aurelius Besammon son of Serenus . . . about 37 years old, living in the Gamma quarter, tenth block, and my wife Aurelia Petronia . . . about 27 years old, daughter of Eudaemon son of . . . of the Paulinian tribe and the . . . deme, who is acting without a guardian in accordance with the Roman *ius liberorum*, swear by the *genius* of our lords Titus Fulvius Iunius Macrianus and Titus Fulvius Iunius Quietus Augusti and by the most great god Osirantinous to register(?) the aparche of the twin children born to us of one another, Aurelius Aemilianus and Aurelius Eudaemon aged 25(?) days, providing as witnesses to identify the persons subscribing below. Year 1 of the emperors Caesars Titus Fulvius Iunius Macrianus and Titus Fulvius Iunius Quietus Pii Felices Augusti, Thoth 20.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Besammon have registered(?) the aparche of my sons as stated above.' (3rd hand) 'I, Aurelia Petronia have registered(?) the aparche of my sons as stated above. I, Aurelius Sarapammon son of Ammonarius of the Sabinian tribe and the Harmonian deme wrote for her as she is illiterate.' (4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Sarapammon . . . son of Ammonius of the Nervian tribe and the Genearchian deme . . . children Aurelius Aemilianus and Aurelius Eudaemon aged 25(?) days, as stated above.' (5th hand) 'I, Aurelius Sara . . . of the Paulinian tribe and the Homognian deme . . . children Aurelius Aemilianus . . .'

1 The number of letters or symbols here might be anything from one to four. Before the hole a large υ[might be preferable to e.g. λ.[or τ.[. After it the trace could belong to a letter such as ε or ζ with an extension to the right, or it might be part of a stroke marking a numeral.

2 For the council's connexion with the aparche cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 30. 1; 33. 8, PSI IX 1067.

3 δημεμ[.] . λω . . Since the mother's father and two witnesses are Antinoite citizens described by tribe and deme names, we might expect that the father would also be a citizen and that his tribe and deme would appear here, which is apparently not the case. Ten Antinoite tribes are known and no tribe has more than five known demes. It is therefore thought that the organization comprised ten tribes and fifty demes, see *JRS* 30 (1940) 40-1. This is not the demotic Δημητριεύς of the Matidian tribe. The traces do not fit, and in any case the tribal adjective should come first, followed by ὁ καὶ Δ. Perhaps the father's status was unusual and this passage made some statement about his association or lack of association with a deme.

4 On the division of Antinoopolis into grammata and plintheia see A. Calderini, *Diz. geog.* 1. 2 pp. 82-3.

If the traces are rightly assigned, it seems likely that Petronia, whose name is clear in 15, had an alias. Perhaps the very meagre traces at the end of the line come from ἡ καὶ and the second name followed in 5.

6 The short space at the beginning of the line must have held a demotic. Four demotics of the Paulinian tribe are known, Ἰκίδιος, Μεγαλίδιος, Ὀμόγνιος and Φιλαδέλφιος. Of these Ἰκίδιος and Ὀμόγνιος are equally likely, the others equally unlikely.

9 Ὀσειραντί]νορν. Cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 33. 12 and n.

τάσσεσθαι ἀπαρχήν. See also P. Ant. 1 37. 4, PSI v 464. 7; cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 33. 7-8 υἰόν . . . οὐ καὶ

ἀπαρχὴν ἐταξάμεν διὰ τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς. The only certain sense of ἀπαρχή in this connexion is 'birth certificate', see introd., but this does not suit the language here very well. The middle τάσσεισθαι is used most commonly of paying money, which has suggested that the ἀπαρχή is also a tax. B. A. Van Groningen in P. Fam. Tebt. 33. 8 n. stressed the original religious sense, 'offering of first fruits', guessing that the offering had been commuted to a payment. That this sense was still strong is confirmed by three texts, see *Raccolta Lumbroso*, 49–67 on PSI vi 690, SB III 6995, 6996, which refer to the ἀπαρχή for house-born slaves in these terms: καὶ ἐτάξατο τῆς ὑπερθέσμου ἑβδομαίας ἡμέρας Θεᾶς Βερνίκης Εὐεργέτιδος τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀπαρχήν, even though it also remains uncertain what 'the seventh day decreed as additional(?)' may mean. The latest suggestion for translating ὀμνύομεν...τάσσεισθαι ἀπαρχήν is 'we register under oath', see P. Ant. I 37. 4 n.

10 Αἰμιλιανοῦ. Cf. 20, 23. Most occurrences of this name in the papyri refer to L. Mussius Aemilianus, the prefect who supported the usurpers Macrianus and Quietus at this very time. Could it be that the parents named their son after him?

Εὐδαίμονος. This son was named after his maternal grandfather, see 5.

14–15 τέταμαι...τέταμαι. Read τέταγμα, cf. 9. For γμ>μ see E. Mayser, *Grammatik*², I. I p. 157.

18 μῆ εἰδυίης. The second upright of eta, slightly curved, may have been used to form the back of epsilon. If not, read μῆ ἰδυίης.

18–19 The pattern must have been either Sarapammon alias (ὁ καὶ) N, son of Ammonius, or Sarapammon, son of N alias (τοῦ καὶ) Ammonius. The traces are not decisive.

18–23 The subscriptions are those of two witnesses to identity, see 11. The third is lost, see introd. Both parallels break off before this stage. The verb was probably γνωστεύω, cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 33. 18, 21, 24, W. Chr. 143. 80, 85, perhaps γνωρίζω, cf. XL Index VII s.vv. γνωρίζειν, γνωστεύειν. A good possibility for spaces and traces would be γνωστεύω τοὺς διδυμα]γεγίς (for -εῖς) πα[ιδ]ας, cf. 10. The traces in 20 are hardly suitable for προκει]μέν[ο]νς vel sim.

21–2 The length of the lacuna suggests that Aurelius Sara...or his father had an alias, cf. 18–19 n.

3477. APPLICATION FOR ANACRISIS

43 5 B. 64/K (6–8)a

17.5 × 15 cm.

29 August–11(?) November A.D. 270

This item stands on the back of **3476**, a sworn declaration made to the council of Antinoopolis. Probably that document remained in the local records until the back of it was used for, among other things, this copy of an application to the acting nomarch of Antinoopolis for the interrogation of a slave girl.

On the nature of and the reason for the anacrisis of slaves see H. J. Wolff's article in *ZRG* 83 (1966) 340–9, and the subsequent discussion in I. Biežuńska-Małowist, *L'Esclavage*, part II (période romaine), 54–62. From the evidence adduced it seems certain that anacrisis was performed the first time a slave was sold inside Egypt in order to establish that the person concerned was of servile status. The anacrisis must therefore have been carried out before the sale was completed, as is indicated by the use of the present participle in 6. The slave girl in question is of Egyptian origin and we must therefore, following Wolff, assume that she was house-bred by the seller.

A close parallel to this document is offered by **XII 1463**, which is addressed to a nomarch of Antinoopolis through his deputy. The buyer and seller are from Oxyrhynchus and Choenotis in the Heracleopolite nome respectively, but a connexion with Antinoopolis is clear as the buyer's husband and guardian is a citizen there.

In the present document it is not at all clear why the anacrisis is requested in

Antinoopolis, since the buyer and seller come from Cynopolis in the Delta and Coptus in Upper Egypt respectively, and the only Antinoite involved is Aurelius Basilides, who assists the seller. One theory is that the anacrisis took place where the 'birth certificate' of the slave was registered, another that the location of the sale determined that of the anacrisis; see H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, 350-1.

Another problem is introduced by the fact that the document was found at Oxyrhynchus, since nothing points to any connexion with that town. However, as the document is a copy the most likely solution is that it was kept on record by the nomarch and that the nomarch of Antinoopolis like the *strategi* elsewhere had to serve outside his *idia*. If this is so, we might assume that Aurelius Theon alias Philemon was an Oxyrhynchite who, after his tour of duty, went back to Oxyrhynchus taking his papers with him, cf. XL 2941 2 n.

On the left of 3477 stand the ends of 25 lines of a previous item. In spite of severe damage it can be made out that the transaction involved the same slave (19-22), the same seller with her male assistant (10-16), and probably the same buyer (8-9). There was also a mention of a private bank in Antinoopolis, somewhat in the following terms: . . . τῆς . . .]μμωνος ε-⁶[. . . (= patronymic) Παυλινίου τοῦ καὶ Φιλαδελ]φίου ἐν Ἀντινόου ἑ[πόλει (τῆ λαμπρᾶ?) κολλυβι]στικῆς τραπέζης, cf. P. Strassb. 1 34. 5-7. The document began, after a heading in the top margin now illegible, with a date clause which can be plausibly reconstructed from 3477 18-20, as follows: [ἔτους δευτέρου Ἀυτοκράτορος] Καίσαρος [Μ]άρκου ἑ[Ἀύρηλίου Κλαυδίου Γερμα]νικῶ Μ[ε]ρίστου Εὐσεβοῦς ἑ[Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ μητρὸς] Πριανεψιῶνος ἑ[Επίφ. The day was either omitted or carried forward into line 5. It will have fallen in the period 25 June-24 July A.D. 270, that is, more than a month earlier than 3477. For the spelling of the Milesian month name cf. LSJ s.v. Πυανοψιών; for the use of that calendar in Antinoopolis see *Archiv* 9 (1930) 226-7, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 165-7.

It is clear enough that this document relates to the same sale as 3477, but the exact nature and structure of it have not yet been discovered.

ἀν[τί]γρ(αφον) ἀνακρίσεως.

(vac.)

Ἀύρηλίω Θεόνι τῷ καὶ Φιλήμονι διαδεχομέ[νω τὴν
νομαρχίαν Ἀντινόου πόλεως τῆς λαμπρᾶς [
παρὰ Ἀύρηλίου Θεῶνος Διονυσίου μητρὸς Ες[.
5 ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ κάτω Κυνοπ[ολί-
του νομοῦ. ὠνούμενος κατὰ δημόσιον χρημα[τισμὸν
διὰ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἀρχείου παρὰ Ἀύρηλίας Αἰλο[.
Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς ἑ[Ελούρας ἀπὸ Κοπτ[ίτου τῆς
μητροπόλεως ὡς (ἔτων) νβ' ἐνκολόβω καὶ .[.

- 10 μου, ζιμη̄ς, κυνεστῶτος αὐτῆ καὶ κυμβεβ[αιούντος
τὴν πρᾶσιν Αὐρηλίου Βασιλίδου τοῦ καὶ Φιλαν-
τινόφου Ἰέρακος Ματιδίου τοῦ καὶ Θεμοφο-
ρίου καὶ ὡς χρημ(ατίζει) δουλὴν Εὐπλοίαν ἐγγενῆ
Αἰγύπτῳ ὡς (ἐτῶν) ἰς ὑπόστραβον ὀφθαλμῶ
15 δεξιῶ, ταύτην προσάγω παρούσης τῆς πωλούσης
καὶ τοῦ κυνεστῶτος αὐτῆ, ἀξιῶν αὐτὴν ἀνακρι-
θῆναι κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα. (vac.) διευτύ[χει.
(ἔτους) γ'' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου
Α[ὐ]ρηλί[ο]υ Κλαυδίου Γερμαν[ικο]ῦ [Μ]ε[γί]στο[υ]
20 [Ε]ὑκεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σε[βαστοῦ] (month, day).
Αὐρήλιος Θεῶ[ν] ἐπιδέ[δωκα]. Αὐρηλία Αἰλο. . .
[ε]ὑδοκῶ. Α(ὐρήλιος) Β[α]σειλίδ[ης]
[κ]αὶ ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπὲρ α[ὐτῆ]ς γρα[μματα] μὴ εἰδυίης.
.

1 αντιγρς 2 l. Θεῶνι 3 l. νομαρχίαν 8 l. Αἰλούρας 9 ωσLνβ; l. ἐγκολόβου 11 l. Βασι-
λείδου 12 ἰερακος 13 χρημ, εγ'γενη 14 ωσLιςὑποστραβον 17 προστεταγ'μενα 18 Lγ''
22 α'; l. Βασιλείδης 23 εγρς

'Copy of interrogation. To Aurelius Theon alias Philemon acting nomarch of Antinoopolis the glorious, from Aurelius Theon son of Dionysius, mother Es. . . , from the metropolis of the Lower Cynopolite nome. As I am in the process of buying by public contract through the record office here from Aurelia Ael. . . daughter of Sarapion, mother Aelura, from the metropolis of the Coptite nome, about 52 years old, rather short and . . . with a flat nose, having with her as assistant and guarantor of the sale Aurelius Basilides alias Philantinous son of Hierax of the Matidian tribe and the Thesmophorian deme and however he is styled, a slave girl called Euploea, a native of Egypt, about 16 years old, squinting slightly with the right eye, I bring her forward in the presence of the seller and the seller's assistant and request that she be interrogated in accordance with the ordinances. Farewell. Year 3 of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Claudius Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus (month, day). I, Aurelius Theon, submitted the application. I, Aurelia Ael. . . , am in agreement. I, Aurelius Basilides, . . . and wrote for her as she is illiterate.'

2 The acting nomarch is new. He may have been an Oxyrhynchite, see introd.

On the nomarch and the nomarchy of Antinoopolis see P. Würzb. 8 introd. and *Akten d. XIII intern. Papyrologenkongresses*, 400-1.

3 The end of the line will have been blank.

5 The Lower Cynopolite nome was created in the Roman period, see H. Gauthier, *Les nomes*, 193-4, A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire*², 493 n. 66. This happened before A.D. 209, see XLVII 3345 50 and n.

8 Ἐλούρας. The name is new. Since ε is phonetically equivalent to αι, it is probably related to known names derived from αἴλουρος, referring to an Egyptian cat goddess. This may be supported by Αἰλο[] in 7. Col. i 10-11 also has μητρὸς Ἐλού-¹¹[ρας].

9 ἐγκολόβω. Read ἐγκολόβου, 'rather short'. This new compound is regularly formed, see LSJ s.v. ἐν E 1, 2, a. For the mistaken case see Mayser-Schmoll, *Grammatik*², 1, 1, pp. 78-9.

9-10 [.]¹⁰μου. Space would have allowed ἀσήμου to be written in line 9, but it might possibly

have been divided nevertheless. If rightly read, *σιμῆς* excludes *ἐνσίμου* and *ὑποσίμου*. Other possible terms, listed in A. Caldara, 'I connotati personali', *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* (Milano), iv, 2, pp. 110-31, are *εὐκνημος*, *εὐόφθαλμος*, *κοιλόφθαλμος*, *μελανόφθαλμος*, all of which are rare.

18-20 Year 3 of Claudius II is attested only for Thoth and Phaophi and by mid-Hathyr (11 (?) November) a new formula was in use, see XL introd., p. 20. The possible dates range, therefore, from 29 August, the Egyptian New Year's day, to about 10 November A.D. 270.

The victory title Germanicus Maximus, known from coins and inscriptions, cf. PIR² 1332 (A. 1626), has not occurred in the papyri before.

3478. FORMULA FOR A SUBSCRIPTION

43 5B. 68/F (2-3)b

27 × 7.4 cm.

Early fourth century?

Name and patronymic are here replaced by *τίς τινος*, as in other extant formulas, e.g. XXXIII 2677, XLII 3075, SB VI 9226, cf. XL 2927 11, 13, 16, 18, 21. This document may be complete as it stands, like 3075, which is also a subscription, but the top edge is sufficiently irregular to allow the possibility that it is broken rather than cut. If it is broken, the formula for the body of a *διάλυσις* may have preceded that for the subscription. The foot and sides have suffered only minor damage. The back is blank.

The cursive hand may be assigned to the end of the third century or more probably to the first half of the fourth.

I have not found the formula used in this exact form anywhere, but the statement of *διάλυσις* and the oath not to take further proceedings are both found in the subscriptions to XVI 1880 (settlement out of court) and PSI III 185, described as a receipt but also possibly a settlement out of court.

Ἀυρήλιος τίς τινος πεποίημε τῆ[ν δ]ιάλυσιν καὶ ἔσχον τὰ προχρηθέντα
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
 πάντα καὶ ὤμασα τὸν θεῖον ὄρκον μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν μητὲ ἐγκαλέειν ὡς
 πρόκειται
 καὶ ἔπερ(ωτηθεὶς) ὡμολ(όγησα).

1 l. πεποίημαι; ὑπ 2 l. ὤμοσα, ἐγκαλεῖν μηδὲ ἐγκαλέειν, πρόκειται 3 επε.ρ ωμολ

'I, Aurelius X son of X, have made the settlement and I received everything that was advanced by me and swore the divine oath that I do not and shall not take any proceedings, as aforesaid, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

3479. DEED OF SURETY

43 5B. 68/F (2-3)a

11.6 × 24.5 cm.

A.D. 361?

The consular date clause here offers a new combination of names, Flavius Taurus and Flavius Eusebius. This may reflect the circumstances of Julian's quarrel with Constantius and accession as sole emperor in A.D. 361, see 1-2 n.

The document is in three hands. The first wrote 1-2 and the first six letters, *Αὐρηλί-*, of 3. From this point the second and main hand wrote as far as the end of 19 and ought to be the hand of the main guarantor himself, since his subscription occupies 15-19, but see 1-3 n. Lines 20-3 were written by the main guarantor's son and offer a second guarantee for the same person. The back is blank except at one point near the top where there are some rough strokes which might be a large alpha or chi deleted by cancellation strokes.

The addressee is a *praepositus pagi*. The document looks like a guarantee for a liturgist, cf. e.g. P. Vindob. Sijp. 4, which is drafted in very similar terms to guarantee the service of a comarch. This in turn suggests that the *πρεσβύτερος τῆς . . . κώμης* guaranteed here is a village elder and not a Christian priest, see 8 n.

ὑπατείας Φλανουΐων Ταύρω καὶ Εὐσεβίου τῶν
λαμπροτάτων.
Αὐρηλί(μ. 2)ω Ἀχιλλεῖ πραι(ποσίτω) γ" πάγου
τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου νο<μο>ῦ
5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Χεῶτος Στρουθοῦ ἀπὸ
κώμης [C]ύρων γ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ χαιρει(ν).
ὁμολογῶ ἐγγυῶμαι Αὐρ[ή]λιον [Ἀ]πολλῶν
πρεσβυτέρου τῆς [α]ὐτῆς κώμης Κύρων
μονῆς καὶ ἐμφανίας ὁπόταν ἐρῆ ἄνευ
10 πάσης ἀντιλογί[α]ς καὶ ὁμνύω τὸν σεβάσ-
μιον θεῖον ὄρκον ἀληθῆ εἶναι καὶ τὴν
παράστασιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
τοῦ προκίμενου Χεῶτος ὡς προεῖπον.
εἰ δὲ φανί. ψευδάμεν[ο]ς, ἔνοχος ἔσομαι
15 τῷ θείῳ ὄρκῳ καὶ τῷ περὶ τοῦτο κ[ι]νδύνῳ.
Αὐρήλιος Χεῶ[ς C]τρουθοῦ ὁ π[ρο]κίμενος
ἐγγυῶμαι τὸν προκίμενον Ἀπολλ[ῶ]ν [καὶ
τῆ]ν παράστασιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι ὁπό-
ταν [ἐρ]ῆ καὶ ἐπερωτη[θεῖ]ς ὁμολόγησα.
20 (m. 3) Αὐρήλιος Κυρίων Χεῶτος ἐγγυῶμα[ι
τὸν προκίμενον Ἀπολλῶν μονῆ[ς
καὶ ἐμφανίας καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὁμολόγησα.

1 ὑπατειαςφλανουΐων; 1. Φλαουΐων, Ταύρου 3 πραι? 6 χαιρεῖ 7 1. ἐγγυᾶσθαι 8 1. πρε-
βύτερον 9 1. ἐμφανείας, αἰρή 12 1. παράστασιν αὐτοῦ; ὑπ 14 1. φανείην 15 1. τούτου 16 1.
προκείμενος 17 1. ἐγγυῶμαι, προκείμενον 18 1. αὐτοῦ, ποιήσομαι? 19 1. αἰρή 21 1. προκείμενον
22 1. ἐμφανείας

'In the consulship of Flavius Taurus and Flavius Eusebius, *virī clarissimi*.

To Aureli(2nd hand)us Achilles, praepositus of the third pagus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Cheos son of Struthus from the village of Syron of the 3rd (pagus) of the same nome, greetings. I agree to stand surety for Aurelius Apollos, elder(?) of the same village of Syron, for his remaining and appearing whenever you choose without any contradiction and I swear the august divine oath that this is true and that he will be produced by me the above-mentioned Cheos, as I have stated above. If I should turn out to have lied, I shall be bound by the oath and by the danger therein.

I, Aurelius Cheos son of Struthus, stand surety for the above-mentioned Apollos and I shall(?) produce him whenever you choose and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Syron son of Cheos, stand surety for the above-mentioned Apollos, for his remaining and appearing, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

1-2 The combination of consuls is new. One Flavius Taurus was consul in A.D. 361, another in A.D. 428. The consul of A.D. 513 cannot be relevant here, as the writing is clearly earlier and he is referred to in the papyri by another of his *nomina*, Clementinus, cf. R. Bagnall-K. Worp, *Chronological Systems*, 122. Probably A.D. 428 is also too late for the hands, and an additional argument is provided by the address to a *praepositus pagi*. According to N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v., this post is last mentioned in A.D. 365. The passage referred to, C. Theod. 12. 6. 8, clearly shows that they were still functioning then, but even so A.D. 428 seems too late.

The junior consul of A.D. 361 was Flavius Florentius. Both consuls fled to Constantius before Julian's advance in summer A.D. 361, see PLRE 1 365 (Florentius, 10), 879-80 (Taurus, 3). After the death of Constantius and the accession of Julian as sole emperor the commission of Chalcedon tried Taurus and exiled him to Vercellae. It tried and condemned Florentius in his absence and he had to remain in hiding till after Julian's death. This distinction suggests the guess that Taurus was allowed to remain in the consular *fasti*, while the junior consul was replaced by a Flavius Eusebius. This Eusebius may have been the consul of A.D. 359, a brother of the Eusebia who was the wife of Constantius and who intervened with Constantius on Julian's behalf on two occasions, cf. PLRE 1 300-1, though it may not have been consistent with his dignity to take the position of *consul posterior*.

It is unfortunate that no day was given either in line 2 or at the foot, where we might have expected a clause of the type *ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῆς, vel sim.*, followed by month and day. If the suggestion made above is right, the day must have been fairly late in A.D. 361. This could fit well enough with the view, expressed in the introduction and in 8 n., that this surety is for a liturgist, who would be taking office probably for the Graeco-Roman year A.D. 361/2 on or about 29 August, but there is no regularity in the dates of such sureties, see e.g. P. Vindob. Sijp. 3 of 21 September - the date is corrected in H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, 1 406-7 (= *TAPA* 95 (1964) 306-7) - and P. Vindob. Sijp. 4 of 29 June.

1-3 The first two lines and *αυρηλι* of line 3 were written by another hand than the one which wrote lines 3-19. Could it be that the scribe who wrote the main section had a pile of already dated sheets lying ready, including the letters *αυρηλι*, which could be turned into masculine or feminine, singular or plural, as the occasion required? That scribe ought to be Cheos himself, since 15-19 contain his subscription and there is no subscription by an amanuensis, but it seems rather unlikely that a villager would have a pile of dated sheets and write his own deed of surety. More likely it would be done by a scribe in the office of the praepositus and the need for the usual subscription for illiterates was overlooked, or possibly bungled, see 20-3 n.

3 On the *praepositus pagi* see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 131-4. This incumbent was unknown.

4 This line was added after 5 had been written and is crowded into the normal interlinear space.

6 γ'. Cf. VI 991, where read γ' for γ ο'. A photograph shows that the supposed omicron is tiny and may be better taken as a flourish on the oblique stroke. In both places, then, γ' means 'of the third pagus'. Both Syron and Seryphis, which is the village concerned in 991, were in the Western toparchy, see e.g. X 1285 71, 75, and may suitably be placed in the same pagus.

8 The title *πρεβύτερος τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης* ought to leave no doubt that he was a secular presbyteros and not a Christian priest. N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v., gives A.D. 382 as the latest date for village elders, though others take the later evidence to be ambiguous and suppose that they disappeared much earlier, e.g. A. Tomsin, *Bull. Acad. Roy. Belg.* 38 (1952) 524-5, J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 134-5, n. 6. The form of this document suggests that this man was a liturgist and hence an elder rather than a priest, see introd.

14 Read probably $\phi\alpha\nu\eta\langle\nu\rangle = \phi\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$, with the routine loss of a final nasal, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 111–14.

20–3 It seems odd to find the guarantor's son, who is not mentioned above, giving the same guarantee as his father. What is expected is that the official scribe's work should have ended with 15 and that there should follow a subscription to the same effect as the body of the document in the hand of the guarantor or, if the guarantor was illiterate, in that of an amanuensis, who would also subjoin a statement that he wrote on behalf of an illiterate. Possibly this is what should have happened here and the drafting was bungled, cf. 1–3 n.

3480. PETITION TO A BENEFICIARIUS

43 5 B. 68/F (1)a

17 × 26.5 cm.

c. A.D. 360–90

This paper is related to the archive of Papnuthius and Dorotheus, published in XLVIII 3384–3429. Because of severe abrasion, which leaves the meaning of several passages in doubt even now, the name of Dorotheus son of Aphynchis was not recognized till after the allocation of the known archive to Dr Shelton.

The petitioner alleges that Dorotheus, with the help of some slaves, showered blows on him and his wife when he tried to claim money owing to him for wages. The doubts about the details are treated in the commentary.

The petition was submitted to a *beneficiarius officii praesidis Augustamnicae*. It was therefore written before Oxyrhynchus entered the new province of Arcadia, presumably upon its creation in the later years of the decade A.D. 380–90. Probably it is not earlier than A.D. 360, the year of the first mention of Dorotheus in the other papers of the archive, see XLVIII p. 75.

Evidently this is a copy, since the subscription is in the same hand as the rest of the document. The inventory number indicates that it was found in the same season of excavation as XLVIII 3384–3429. Probably, therefore, it was actually part of that archive and not of official archives or of the files of the petitioner.

The back is blank.

Φ[λαο]νίω Ἰσιδωριανῶ β[εenefικιαρίω τ]άξεω[
 ἡγεμονίας Αὐγουσταμνικῆς
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Γού<ν>θου Πενήφιος ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξ[υρυγχι-
 τῶ<ν> πόλεως. Δίδυμο[ς] καὶ Ἀϊῶν τέκνα τῆς [ἀδελ-
 5 φῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας γαμετῆς καὶ ἐκ προτροπῆς [Δωρο-
 θ]έου Ἀφν[γχι]ίου τιν[ὸ]ς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως αὐτο[ὶ]
 ἀπήγτησαν ἐ[μο]ὶ πρὸς ἀπηργασίαν τῆς σ. . . .
 συνθέμενος τὸν μισθὸν παρασχίν. ἐπιδὴ τοί-
 νυν ἐγὼ δε καὶ ἡ <ῆ>μετέρα γαμετῆ καθεσχέτημεν
 10 . . [.] . ξ ξναικεν χρυσαργύρου πραγματευτι[κοῦ]
 . .] τος τοῖς πρ[ο]ειρημένοις Δυδύ[μω

- καὶ Ἀἰῶνι ἀπεντήσαμεν πρὸς τὸν προειρη[μένον
 Δωρόθεον τῆς ἀποδόσεως ἔναικεν τῶν [ὑπ' αὐ-
 τοῦ χρεωστουμένων μισθῶν ἐξ ἀπο.
- 15 .[.] . . . , τοῦτέστιν νομισμάτιον ἔν, πρὸς τὸ χωρ.
 ..[.] ας τῷ λόγῳ. οὐκ ἔδαμεν δὲ τίνι τρόπῳ
 πρὸς τῇ ἀγν[ω]μοσύνη ἐπήλθεν ἡμῖν, ἐμοί τε καὶ
 τῆς [ἡ]μετέρας γαμετῆς μετὰ οἰκετῶν τ[ι]νων
 καὶ πληγῆς ἡμᾶς κατέκοψεν καθ' ὅλου τοῦ ζ[ώ]ματος?
- 20 ἐν προερεχθε[.]
 . . . [.] αυτη[ς] γαμετῆς κ. [.]
 ..[.] . . . ! πρὸς τοις ἐξε [.] . . [.]
 υ. [.] . . . υ ἡμετέρου τροφίμου Ἑρωνᾶ το . . . [.]
 ὅθεν τὰ βιβλία ἐπιδίδωμι . . . [.]
- 25 χρεωστούμενα ἀπ. [.] . . . ηναι καὶ τὴν δέο[υσαν] . . .]
 αιν γενέ[ς]θαι κατὰ τῆς ὑβρ[ε]ως. (vac.)
 Αὐρήλιος Γοῦνθο[ς] ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρήλιος Θεών ἔγρα(αφα)
 ὑ(πέρ) αὐτ(οῦ) γ[ρ](άμματα) μὴ εἰδ(ότος).

1 ἰσιδωριανῶ 4 αἰών 7 l. ἀπεργασίαν 8 l. συνθέμενοι, παρασχεῖν, ἐπειδή 9 l. ἐγώ τε,
 κατεσχέθημεν 10 l. ἔνεκεν 11 l. Διδύμῳ 12 αἰώνι; l. ἀπηντήσαμεν 13 l. ἔνεκεν
 15 l. τοῦτέστιν 16 l. οἶδαμεν 18 l. τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γαμετῇ 19 l. πληγαῖς

'To Flavius Isidorianus *beneficiarius* of the office of the governor of Augustamnica, from Aurelius Gunthus son of Penephis from the city of the Oxyrhynchites. Didymus and Aion, children of the sister of my wife, precisely as a result of the urging of one Dorotheus son of Aphynchis from the same city, themselves approached me with a view to doing work on . . . , agreeing to provide a wage. Since, then, I and my wife were held responsible on account of . . . of the trade-tax in gold and silver (incumbent on?) the aforementioned Didymus and Aion, we approached the aforementioned Dorotheus for the payment of wages owed by him out of (our unpaid remainder?), that is, one *solidus*, with a view to . . . the account(?), but in some way we fail to understand, in addition to his refusal to pay, he attacked us, me and my wife, with the help of some slaves, and battered us with blows all over the body. of our foster-child Heronas. . . Therefore I submit the petition (requesting that?) the sums owed should be (repaid?) and that the necessary (official action?) should be taken to punish the outrage.

I, Aurelius Gunthus, submitted (the petition). I, Aurelius Theon, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

1 Isidorianus may be acting as *stationarius*, i.e. as a military officer in charge of law and order in the nome. Cf. CPR v 12. 1 and n.

4-8 The situation can only be conjectured. In *προτροπῆς* (5) and *συνθέμενος* (l. -οι; 8) there seem to be echoes of the language of partnership contracts, cf. e.g. P. Oxf. 12. 11, 12, 21. This favours the guess that Dorotheus hired Didymus and Aion to do certain work and encouraged them to co-opt Gunthus to help them. The parallel is far from complete, because in P. Oxf. 12 the encouragers are the original

partners not the employer, and the subject of *συνθέμενη* (11) is the new partner. Nevertheless, it seems clear that Gunthus applied to Dorotheus for unpaid wages, and the echoes are probably significant.

7 ἀπῆντησαν. The third letter appears to be η, correctly, though ἀπεντήσαμεν (l. ἀπηντ-) is clear in 12.

ἀπηργασίαν. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 1, 245 (iii).

At the end of the line the remains look like τῆς κοροῦ. The only certain occurrence of this word in the papyri is in P. Haun. II 17. 14, though it is printed with several dots and assigned an improbable sense in P. Lips. 85. 11, 86. 11. It usually means 'coffin'. The mention of the trade-tax in 10 indicates that these persons were tradesmen rather than agricultural workers.

8 σνθήμενος. Read probably *συνθέμενοι*. If the circumstances really were as outlined in 4–8 n., it was with the original partners that Gunthus had a contract for wages. He tried to get them direct from the employer, Dorotheus, who refused to admit his claim.

10–11 For χρυσάργυρον πραγματευτικόν (cf. W. Chr. 281. 31), the tax levied in bullion on tradesmen, see J. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*, 129–37, cf. XLVIII 3415 introd.

At the beginning the traces might suit ἐπιμέλις (l. -είας), though this does not give any very clear sense. At any rate we may have there a word governed directly by ἔνεκεν and itself governing χρυσαργύρου.

It is uncertain whether πραγματευτικῶν was written wholly in line 10 or was carried over into 11.

In 11 -τος might be a participle agreeing with χρυσάργυρου and governing τοῖς προεξημένοις; ἀνήκοντος might suit.

14–15 It is doubtful whether ἐξ ἀπολογίῳ πων ἡμῶν, 'from our unpaid residue', will suit the traces, but it may represent the sense.

19–20 Probably σῶματος was divided between the lines, either as σῶματος or σῶμα-τος. The remains in 20 have not been identified.

23 Not Ἡρωνάτος.

24 After ἐπιδίδωμι not immediately ἀξιῶν or καὶ ἀξιῶ, though that sense is required.

25–6 The sense requires something like ἀποδοθῆναι and ἐπεξέλευσιν. Neither has been identified.

27 The amanuensis formula was very rapidly written and is damaged as well. The remains may not all be assigned to the correct letters.

3481. DECLARATION OF A SHIPPER

21 3B. 29/A (2–4)a

9.8 × 32.2 cm.

10 September A.D. 442

Aurelius Andreas, a shipper, acknowledges the embarkation of a quantity of grain from Thonius, a miller, along with an unspecified extra amount in respect of freight and other subsidiary charges. For the type of document cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *BASP* 13 (1976) 71–4, and P. J. Sijpesteijn–K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 157–65, with references (add XLVIII 3395); A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht* (1978: *Studia Amstelodamensia* 13). The papyrus is complete, and dated by the Oxyrhynchite-era system. The writing occupies the upper half of the sheet only. The back is blank.

The destination of the cargo is not stated, nor is it clear whether Thonius is the payer or simply the loading-agent. There is no specific statement as to whether this is a private delivery or a cargo of revenue-grain (whether for Alexandria or elsewhere), but I suppose that the incidence of transportation-taxes (esp. *σακκοφορικόν*) is decisive for the latter.

Αὐρήλε[ι]ος Ἀνδρέας
 Δημητρίου κυβερνήτης πλοίου
 Θέωνος περιβλέπτου μεμέτρη` με`
 καὶ ἐνεβαλόμην εἰς τὸ
 5 αὐτὸ ὑπ` ἐμὲ πλοῖον
 παρὰ Θωνίου μυρονάρχου
 ἀπὸ γενήματος ἑνδεκάτης
 πίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας
 πέντε, γί(νονται) πίτ(ου) (ἀρτάβαι) ε, τοῦτον
 10 καὶ τὰ ναῦλα καὶ τὰ κούμει(α)
 καὶ τὸ σακκοφορικὸν
 ἐκ πλήρης. ριθ πη,
 Θῶθ ιγ.
 (m. 2) ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀνδρέας
 15 σεσημείωμαι.

1 l. Αὐρήλιος
15 l. σεσημείωμαι

3. l. μεμέτρημαι

6 l. μυλωνάρχου

10 l. κούμουλα

12 l. πλήρους

'I, Aurelius Andreas son of Demetrius, captain of a ship belonging to Theon *vir spectabilis*, have had measured out to me and loaded on to the same ship under my command, from Thonius mill-master, from the produce of the eleventh (indiction), five artabas of pure wheat, tot. 5 art. of wheat, this and the transportation-charges and the supplementary charges and the portorage-tax, in full. (Year) 119/88, Thoth 13.'

(2nd hand) 'Signed by me, the aforesaid Andreas.'

3 περιβλέπτου = *spectabilis*. See O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate*, 31. This is one of the earliest instances of the title. Later it was debased, but at this date Theon, though hardly to be identified, is likely to have been a person of some importance.

7 ἑνδεκάτης. Sc. ἰνδικτίονος, or read <ἰνδικτίονος>. The eleventh indiction will presumably be that of A.D. 442/3, given the date of the document in 12-13. However, the harvest from which the grain has come must surely be that of 442. Thus this text seems to imply that the eleventh indiction here started with the *praedelegatio* (not the *delegatio*) on 1 May 442 which would be contrary to the arrangement accepted as normal at Oxyrhynchus, viz. that the indiction-year began on Thoth 1.

For an explanation of this phenomenon see now R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (1978), 26-7, where a distinction is drawn between the reckoning of indictions for fiscal purposes, in which the indiction began on 1 May with the *praedelegatio*, and the reckoning for dating purposes where the indiction began later, with the *delegatio* (1 July) or later still (Thoth 1 in the Oxyrhynchite nome).

9 Five artabas of wheat would of course form only a small fraction of the boat's cargo.

τοῦτον καί: cf. P. Cair. Isid. 36. 10, καὶ τούτων τὰ ναῦλα. Possibly the genitive plural is intended here despite the changed order.

10-11 Cf. XLVIII 3395 12 n., and see Meyer-Termeer, op. cit. 12-14.

VI. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3482. CESSION OF CATOECIC LAND

27 3B. 40/F (5)a

26.5 × 29 cm.

8 October 73 B.C.

Theon, son of Antiochus, a 'Macedonian' and catoecic cavalryman of the tenth hipparchy, in return for benefits received in the past cedes to Dionysius, son of Apollonius, also a 'Macedonian' of the same hipparchy, 9.5 out of the 28.5 aruras of catoecic land which he held. Dionysius already held 9.5 aruras of what had been a 38-arura parcel, so that the net result of the present transaction was to give the two principals equal shares.

The right-hand two-thirds of the document survive almost perfectly preserved, but of the left third only the upper third remains, in poorer condition and pieced together out of four fragments. There are two kolleseis on the sheet, and the break which has lost us much of the left side of the document occurred down the left edge of the overlap of the left-hand kollesis. The back is blank.

This is a welcome addition to the few other documents of this type of Ptolemaic date, of which only one clearly comes from Oxyrhynchus, XIV **1635** (44–30 B.C.; for the date cf. *Prosop. Ptol.* VIII p. 160, corr. of II 2508), which is but a small fragment of a once much larger document. P. Fouad 38 (early first century B.C.) may also be Oxyrhynchite. The others (BGU VIII 1731–40) all belong to a homogeneous group from the Heracleopolite nome and are datable to between 99 B.C. and the end of the Ptolemaic period.

For the relationship of these documents to the gradual evolution from the inalienability of catoecic land to its tolerated alienability, see W. Kunkel, *ZRG (Röm. Abt.)* 48 (1928) 285–313; R. Taubenschlag, *Law²*, 236–7; F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens*, 41 n. 2; W. Müller, *Proc. IX Int. Congress of Papyrology* (Oslo, 1958), 183–93, esp. 186–93.

This document provides proof of the direct derivation from a Ptolemaic format (already hypothesized by G. Vitelli, PSI IV 320 and VIII 897 introd.) of certain expressions used in Oxyrhynchite deeds of cession of Roman date. The immediate consequences are the textual improvement and better understanding of various passages in the deeds referred to which had remained obscure largely due to the lack of a Ptolemaic model. These Oxyrhynchite deeds of cession of catoecic land of Roman date are: II **366** descr. (A.D. 14/15, *BL* I 321); PSI IV 320 (A.D. 18); PSI X 1118 (A.D. 25/26; see note to line 12 below); P. Ryl. II 159 (A.D. 31/32); PSI VIII 897 (A.D. 93); P. Strasb. 266 (c. A.D. 100); III **504** and III **633** descr. (both early second century A.D.).

Our document consists of two separate sections which are also physically divided

by a blank space. The first (1–27) contains the deed of cession (*συγγραφή τῆς ὁμολογίας*, 27), while the second (28–39) contains the corresponding royal oath (*βασιλικὸς ὄρκος*). The document ends with the docket of a public official (40).

Within the first section we can further distinguish the *παραχώρησις* (1–16) and a *ὁμολογία* in which are set out the criteria for the division of the *κλήρος* between Theon and Dionysius (16–27). The presence of this latter section, which we may define as a *ὁμολογία διαιρέσεως*, seems not to be due to localized causes (for example, to the fact that the *κλήρος* should be *ἀδιαίρετος*), but rather to be the section of the document normally reserved for the establishment of the extent and boundaries of the ceded land; this would of course also clarify the taxation responsibilities of the two parties. In sum, it is maintained here that the form and structure of **3482** represent the form and structure normal in Oxyrhynchite deeds of cession of catoecic land of the first century B.C. The further fact that **3482** like the Heracleopolite deeds of cession (BGU VIII 1735–40) contains the royal oath (as does P. Fouad 38, possibly Oxyrhynchite) demonstrates that this was no merely local usage but necessary for the full legal validity of the cession.

As regards the juridical position of cleruchic land and the procedure by means of which a cession could be effected, we learn from **3482** that the matter was administered *διὰ τῶν τὰ ἵππικὰ χειριζόντων* (5), and that the drawing-up of the deed of cession was preceded by the presentation, by the person proposing to cede the land, of a memorandum to the official in charge of the register of catoecic land (5–6). In the interval between presentation of the memorandum and the drawing-up of the deed of cession the *μετεπιγραφή* would probably have taken place, that is the official registration of the land in the name of the new holder. There is, however, no explicit reference to *μετεπιγραφή* in the actual deeds of cession of catoecic land from Oxyrhynchus, Ptolemaic or Roman; but that this took place *διὰ τῶν καταλοχιμῶν*, and in relation to changes in tenure of catoecic land, is proved by II **273** 21 (A.D. 95), the sole testimony so far to *μετεπιγραφή* at Oxyrhynchus. The procedure at Oxyrhynchus, then, is basically the same as that at Heracleopolis, and formal divergences in the definitive deeds (at Oxyrhynchus *ὁμολογίαι παραχωρήσεως*, at Heracleopolis *ὁμολογίαι εὐδοκήσεως τῇ γεγονυία τῷ δέινι μετεπιγραφῇ*) are in all probability due to local variations in notarial practice. For a summary of the procedure see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 228–9.

βασιλευόντων Πτολεμ[α]ί[ου καὶ Κ]λεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ Τρυφαίνης θεῶν
 Φιλοπατόρων Φιλαδέλφων, ἔτους
 ἐνάτου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῶν κοινῶν ὡς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι γράφεται, μηνὸς Δίου
 καὶ Θωὸθ κθ, (vac.) ἐν Ὁξ(υρύγχων) πό(λει)
 τῆς Θηβαίδ[ο]ς. ὁμολογεῖ Θεῶν Ἀντιόχου Μακεδῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης
 ἵππαρχίας κα(τοίκων) ἱπ(πέων) Διονυσίω Ἀπολλωνίου

- Μακεδόνι [τ]ῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἱππαρχίας οἱ δύο ἀγυῖαι Κλεοπάτρας
 Ἐφροδίτης παρακεχωρηκέναι αὐτῶι ἀκο-
 5 λούθως τοῖς δ[ι]ὰ τῶν τὰ ἱππικὰ χειριζόντων ὠκονομημένοις ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Θέων
 δέδωκεν ὑπομνήματος Εὐδαίμονι
 τῶι πρὸς καταλοχισμοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτῶι μέρους ἡμίους
 τετάρτου κλήρου ἀδιαιρέτου ἀρουρῶν λη
 πρότερον Ἀλεξάνδρου περὶ Σεπέτα οὗ τὸ ἄλλο τέταρτον μέρος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ
 τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀρούρας ἑννέα ἡμίους
 [ἔ]ν' ὑπάρχουσιν τῶι Διονυ[σίω] καὶ ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τῶι ἑαυτοῦ τετάρτῳ
 μέρει εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἡμίους
 τοῦ ὄλου κλήρου κυρίως τὸν [πά]ντα χρόνον σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τιμίοις καὶ
 φιλανθρώποις ἀκολούθως τοῖς προστετα-
 10 γμένοις καὶ ἐπεσταλμένοις ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπέιληφεν τὸν Θέωνα καὶ εὐχρήστηκεν
 αὐτῶι ἐμ πλείοσιν τῶν κατὰ
 τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν τῶν τοῦ κλήρου αὐτοῦ βασιλικῶν διόρθωσιν ἐφ' ᾧ
 παρέξεται τῶι Διονυσίῳ τὴν γῆν καθαρὰν
 ἀπὸ βασιλικῶν πάντων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων καὶ μὴ ἐμποριήσεσθαι Θέωνα
 μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 [ὧν π]αρακεχώρηκεν καθότι πρόκειται μηδὲ μέρους μηδὲ κακοτεχνήσειν περὶ
 τὴν παραχώρησιν παρευρέσει
 [μηδ]εμίαι· ἐὰν δέ τι τούτων ἀθετῆ, ἄκυρον ἔστω καὶ προσαποτεισάτω
 Διονυσίῳ ἢ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ, καθ' ὃ ἂν
 15 [εἶδος ἀθετῆ, ἐπίτιμο]ν ἀργυ[ρίου] (δραχμὰς)] φ [καὶ] εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τὸ ἴσον
 καὶ μηθὲν ἧσσον τὰ διωμολογημένα κύρια
 [ἔστω ὡς πρόκειται. ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ Θ]έων καὶ Διονύσιος διειρηῆσθαι τὸν
 κλήρον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὧστ' ἔχειν Διονύ-
 [σιον ± 25 letters τ]ῆς μὲν λεγομένης τῶν δεκαἑξ
 ἀρουρῶν σφραγίδος ἣ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ
 [(name) κλήρου ± 25] τῆς καλουμένης Κώϊων γῆς
 λιβὸς δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου τὸ πρὸς λίβα
 [μέρος ἡμίους διατεῖνον βορρᾶ ἐπὶ νότο]ν ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἦ ἡ σφραγίς· ὁμοίως δὲ
 καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ νότου τοῦ αὐτοῦ παρα-
 20 [δείσου σφραγίδος ἔχειν τὸν Θέωνα τὸ πρὸς ἀπηλι]ώτην μέρος ἡμίους
 διατεῖνον βορρᾶ ἐπὶ νότον ἐπὶ τὸ πέρασ τῆς σφραγίδος

- [± 31] . σφραγίδων ἔχειν δ' ὁμοίως
τὸν Διονύσιον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Καλλίππου
[κλήρου σφραγίδα ἀρουρῶν καὶ Θέων]α τὴν πρὸς τῷ ἄνω γύμνι ἑτέραν
σφραγίδα ἀρουρῶν ἐννέα· τῆς δὲ
[σφραγίδος ± 17 ἔχειν] τὸν Διονύσιον
τὸ πρὸς λίβα μέρος ἡμῖν, Θέωνα δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἀπηλι-
[ώτην ἄλλο μέρος ἡμῖν, καὶ μηδ' ἑτέρωι αὐ]τῶν μηδὲ τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν
ἔξεῖναι παραβαίνειν τι τούτων
- 25 [± 31] ισοῦς ἢ χωρὶς τ[ο]ῦ ἄκυρα
εἶναι ἂ ἐὰν παραβαίῃ καὶ προσαποτει-
[σάτω ὁ παραβὰς τῷ ἐμμένοντι ἐπίτιμον] φ καὶ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τὸ
ἴσον. σννευδοκεῖ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς
[κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τῆς ὁμολογίας ἢ Θ]έωνος γυνὴ Διονυσία Ἀμμωνίου
μετὰ κυρίου Θέωνος τοῦ αὐτοῦ.
[] (vac.)
[Ἵμνῶ βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασιλί]σσαν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν καὶ
Τρύφαιναν θεοὺς Φιλοπάτορας
[Φιλαδέλφους καὶ τοὺς τούτων προγόνο]υς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς Θέων
Ἀντιόχου Μακεδῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς
30 [δεκάτης ἱππαρχίας ὁμολογεῖν Διονυσίωι] Ἀπολλωνίου Μακεδόνι τῶν ἐκ
τῆς αὐτῆς ἱππαρχίας ἀγνιᾶς
[Κλεοπάτρας Ἀφροδίτης καὶ εὐδοκεῖ]ν ἅπασι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τῆς
ὁμολογίας τὴν κειμένην
[ἄμα τῷ ὄρκωι τούτῳ διὰ τῶν ἀγορανόμ]ων τῆι ἐνεστῶσῃ ἡμέραι καθ' ἣν
παρακεχώρηκά σοι ἀκολούθως
[τοῖς διὰ τῶν τὰ ἱππικὰ χειριζόντων ὦ]κονομημένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντός
μοι μέρους ἡμῖν τετάρτου
[κλήρου ἀδιαιρέτου ἀρουρῶν λη πρό]τερον Ἀλεξάνδρου περὶ Σεπέτα οὗ τὸ
ἄλλο τέταρτον μέρος ἐστὶν σὸν
- 35 [ἀρούρας ἐννέα ἡμῖν εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ] ἡμῖν τοῦ ὄλου κλήρου καὶ
μηθὲν παρασυγγραφῆσειν μηδὲ
[κακοτεχνῆσειν περὶ τὴν τῆς ὁμολογίας συγγρα]φὴν μηδὲ περὶ μηθὲν τῶν δι'
αὐτῆς ἀναπεφωνημένων μηδὲ

[περὶ τὸν ὄρκον τοῦτον παρευρέσει μηδ]εμίαι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιῶ κατὰ τὰ
προγεγραμμένα συνχωρῶ τὰ μὲν

[κατὰ τὴν παραχώρησιν καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν] μένειν κύρια, ἥνικα δ' ἂν
εὐθυνηθῶ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τοῦ κλήρου μου

[ἀναλημφθῆναι εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ με ἔνο]χον εἶναι τῷ ὄρκῳ.

[] (vac.)

40 [± 31], ος ὁ παρὰ Διονυσοδώρου

κ. . . [.] . ιταίτα

1 φιλοπατορων: π corr. from μ 10 l. ἐν πλείοσιν 16 l. διηρησθαι 22 l. ἄνω 24 l. τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν

'In the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra also called Tryphaena, gods Philopatores Philadelphi, in the ninth year – and the rest of the formula as written in Alexandria – the 29th of the month Dios which is equivalent to Thoth.

In the city of the Oxyrhynchi in the Thebaid. Theon son of Antiochus, a Macedonian and one of the catoecic cavalrymen of the tenth hipparchy, acknowledges to Dionysius son of Apollonius, a Macedonian and one of those from the same hipparchy, both of them from the street of Cleopatra Aphrodite, that he has ceded to him, in accordance with the administrative arrangements of those controlling cavalry affairs and on the basis of a memorandum submitted by Theon to Eudaemon the official in charge of the registry of military settlers' land grants, nine and a half aruras out of the threequarter share falling to him of an undivided allotment of 38 aruras situated near Senepsta, formerly belonging to Alexander, of which the remaining quarter share belongs to the said Dionysius, that they may belong to Dionysius and his descendants in addition to his own quarter share and make up the half of the whole allotment; irrefutably for all time, and along with the other rights and benefits in accordance with the ordinances and instructions, in return for the support given to Theon and the good services rendered to him in many aspects of daily life and of the settlement of royal taxes on his allotment; (and) on condition that he makes the land over to Dionysius clear of all outstanding royal taxes, and that neither Theon nor anyone else on his behalf will lay claim to the property ceded as aforesaid, even in part, nor resort to fraud regarding the cession on any pretext whatsoever. If he should set aside any of these provisions, such action is to be invalid and he is in addition to pay to Dionysius or his assigns for every specific breach a fine of 500 silver drachmas and the same to the royal treasury, and none the less are the agreements to be irrefutable as aforesaid.

Theon and Dionysius further acknowledge that they have divided the allotment on the following terms, so that Dionysius is to have . . . of the section called "of the sixteen aruras" which is from the allotment of . . . of the land called "of the Coans", and on the west the western half share of the garden, stretching from north to south for as far as the section reaches. Likewise of the section from the south of the same garden Theon is to have the eastern half share, stretching from north to south as far as the boundary of the section . . . sections; likewise Dionysius is to have too the section from the allotment of Callippus, of . . . aruras, and Theon the other section of nine aruras near the upper field, and of the section . . . Dionysius is to have the western half share and Theon the other eastern half share. To neither of them nor to their assigns shall it be allowed to contravene any of these conditions . . . or apart from the invalidity of whatsoever contravention, the contravener shall further pay to the person abiding by the conditions a fine of 500 silver drachmas(?) and the same to the royal treasury. The wife of Theon, Dionysia daughter of Ammonius, with the said Theon as her guardian, gives her assent to all the conditions of the contract of agreement.

I, Theon son of Antiochus, a Macedonian and one of those from the tenth hipparchy, swear by King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra also called Tryphaena, gods Philopatores Philadelphi, and by their ancestors and by the other gods, that I have come to an agreement with you Dionysius son of Apollonius, a Macedonian and one of those from the same hipparchy, from the street of Cleopatra Aphrodite, and

assent to all the provisions of the contract of agreement drawn up together with this oath through the agoranomi on the present day, in accordance with which I have ceded to you, in conformity with the administrative arrangements of those controlling cavalry affairs, nine and a half aruras out of the threequarter share falling to me of an undivided allotment of 38 aruras situated near Senepta, formerly belonging to Alexander, of which the remaining quarter is yours, so as to make up the half of the whole allotment; and that I shall not break the contract nor resort to fraud in any respect regarding the contract of agreement or any of the declarations made in it or regarding this oath, on any pretext whatsoever; but if I do not act as aforesaid, I agree that the provisions of the cession and agreement are to remain irrefutable, and that when I am brought to account the remaining portions of my allotment are to revert to the Crown and also I am to be held liable to the consequences of the oath.

I, . . . , the substitute for Dionysodorus, . . .'

2-3 ἐν Ὁξ(υρύγχων) πό(λει) τῆς Θηβαίδ[ο]ς. See J. D. Thomas, *The Ptolemaic Epistrategos (Papyrologica Coloniensia VI, 1975)*, appendix 2, pp. 125-31.

3 κα(τοίκων) ἱπ(πέων). Cf. e.g. P. Teb. I 47. 9 with plate VII to illustrate the form of the abbreviation, slightly more cursive and ligated in 3482.

4 ρί δύο. Cf. XIV 1628 8 and 1629 7, and possibly 1635 3 (see note), πάντες 1644 8.

ἀγνιᾶς Κλεοπάτρας Ἀφροδίτης. Cf. P. Köln III 145 introd. To the documents cited add IV 802 (= SB VI 9255) + P. Ryl. IV 586 (99 B.C.), where lines 9-10 should read ⁹ἐπιγονῆς ρί τρεῖς ἀγνιᾶς Κλεοπάτρας] ¹⁰Ἀφροδίτης. This street seems to have been lived in exclusively by catoecic cavalry, Macedonians and Persians of the succession.

4-5 ἀκολούθως. . . ὠκονομημένοι. Cf. XIV 1635 4-5; also BGU VIII 1731. 9, ἀκολούθως ταῖς δ[ιὰ τοῦ ἵππι]κῶν λογιστηρίων οἰκονομ[ο]μαίαις. These two expressions, with the same meaning, are at the origin of the phrase which recurs in the deeds of cession of catoecic land drawn up at Oxyrhynchus in the Roman period, ἀκολούθως τοῖς διὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ὠκονομημένοις, where one should understand ἐκ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ λογιστηρίου; cf. III 504 9, P. Ryl. II 159. 5-6, PSI IV 320. 5-6, VIII 897. 8-9, 63-4 and X 1118. 2-3. The ἵππικὸν λογιστήριον carried out the μετεπιγραφὴ of the ceded land; this activity is documented in the Ptolemaic period (cf. BGU VIII 1732. 3, 1733. 5; P. Teb. I 63. 121 [BL III 240]), and especially in the Roman period, given the greater number we possess of cessions of catoecic land (BGU III 906. 18; CPR I I [= SPP XX I]. 11, 27-8; CPR I 188. 9; P. Mich. V 259. 12-13, 30-1; P. Mich. V 262. 8-10; P. Mich. V 267-8. 6-8, and 273. 5-6).

5 ἀφ' οὗ. . . ὑπομνήματος. Frequent usage in Oxyrhynchite deeds of cession of catoecic land, cf. PSI IV 320. 6, VIII 897. 9, 64, and X 1118. 3, and P. Ryl. II 159. 6. An equivalent expression occurs in BGU II 578. 21 (A.D. 189) and III 888. 23 (A.D. 160), ἀφ' οὗ ἐὰν τελειώσω ἐνεχυρασίας γραμμάτων, on which see A. B. Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma*, p. 80 n. 2 and p. 81 n. 1.

6 τῶι πρὸς καταλοχιμοῖς. This is the earliest attestation of this official, already evidenced by BGU VIII 1772. 6 (Heracleopolite, 57/6 B.C.), 1769. 1-3 (Heracleopolite, 48/7 B.C.: *Prosop. Ptol.* II 2509 = 2490), and XIV 1635 5 (restored: Oxyrhynchus, 44-30 B.C.).

In the Roman period ὁ πρὸς τοῖς καταλοχιμοῖς continued to operate at Oxyrhynchus: cf. PSI IV 320. 8 (A.D. 18), PSI X 1118. 4 (A.D. 25/6), P. Ryl. II 159. 7 (A.D. 31/2), I 165 descr. (A.D. 81), XII 1462 2, 23 (A.D. 83/4) and III 504 10 (early second century A.D.); add to these the nearly contemporary instances of the ἀρχολογούμενοι τοῖς καταλοχιμοῖς, I 45 2 (A.D. 95), I 175 descr. (c. A.D. 95), II 341 descr. (A.D. 95-100), and I 46 2 (A.D. 100), and of the ἐπιτηρητῆς καὶ χειριστῆς καταλοχιμῶν, XII 1462 3, 24 (A.D. 83/4), I 174 descr. (A.D. 88), and II 346 descr. (A.D. 100). These officials are also recorded in the Arsinoite nome, P. Fam. Teb. 25. 1 (A.D. 129), P. Phil. II 2 (A.D. 141; see M. Blanken, *Pap. Lugd.-Bat.* XIV 116-18), BGU VII 1565. 1-2 (A.D. 169), and PSI XV 1540. 8, 14 (second century A.D., published in advance by M. Manfredi, *Dai Papiri della Società Italiana* (Firenze, 1965), pp. 31-2), and in the Hermopolite nome, P. Flor. I 92. 2 (A.D. 84). The area of their competence is limited to the nome (cf. XII 1462, P. Flor. I 92, I 174 descr. and II 346 descr.), but in A.D. 169 the official in charge of the καταλοχιμοῖ in the Arsinoite nome held the same position in other nomes too (BGU VII 1565. 2). At central government level, finally, we find an official in charge of the καταλοχιμοῖ for the whole of Egypt, I 47 and II 344 descr. (both late first century A.D.) and P. Grenf. II 42. 1 (A.D. 86; BL I 187).

7 πρότερον Ἀλεξάνδρου. For this κλήρος see P. Pruneti, 'I κλήροι del nomo Ossirinichite', *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 159-244, esp. 166 seqq.

8 [ἴ]να . . . ἐγγόνοις. Cf. BGU VIII 1732. [8], 1733. 9 and 1734. 8. The phrase reflects the wish to confirm the acquired right to the hereditary transmission of the allotment. In the Roman period, when the cleruch exercised wider rights of ownership over his holding, we regularly find τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ (see P. Mich. v 262. 4, 267-8. 2 and 303. 2. and PSI VIII 905. 4 and 906. 2), or else τοῖς ἐγγόνοις καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ παραληφόμενοις (see III 504 14). XIV 1635 8-9 (44-30 B.C.) should be restored as follows: ἀνγγμένο[ν . . . ἵν' ὑπάρχωσι τῶι Σπαρτάκωι καὶ ἐγγόνοις αἱ προκείμεναι . . .

9 κυρίως. Cf. H. J. Wolff, *ZRG (Röm. Abt.)* 90 (1973) 373.

κυρίως . . . φιλανθρώποις. The secure reading in this line enables us to read or restore the corresponding passages in XIV 1635 9, III 504 15-16, P. Ryl. II 159. 15, PSI VIII 897. 70 and PSI X 1118. 11-12. The term φιλάνθρωπον is here used in its juridical sense; the granting of such benefits was the exclusive prerogative of the king, who authorized them in favour of individuals or groups, associations, corporations, etc. In particular we know of numerous φιλάνθρωπα granted to cleruchs and consisting for the most part of fiscal and penal amnesties. Cf. M.-Th. Lenger, 'La notion de "bienfait" (philanthrôpon) royal et les ordonnances des rois Lagides', *Studi Arangio-Ruiz* I (Napoli, 1952) 483-99; the author collects and examines all the evidence and the texts recognizable as φιλάνθρωπα, among which P. Teb. I 124 (= C. Ord. Ptol. 54) constitutes an excellent example of indulgences with respect to cleruchs. It seems likely that the term τίμιον too implied something precise, originating from the sovereign, but we lack the specific documentation which could tell us what was meant. Apart from the deeds of cession of catoecic land cited above, τίμιον and φιλάνθρωπον occur together only once: in a decree of M. Antonius (*SB* I 4224 = V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*², Oxford, 1955, no. 300) we read (line 12) καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὧν ἤτείτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τιμίων καὶ φιλανθρώπων. Among the other references to τίμιον, note BGU IV 1185 ii 28 (Heracleopolite, 60/59 B.C.) because the word occurs within a royal πρόσταγμα (the first column of this text = C. Ord. Ptol. 71); note too, for similarities between some clauses and those in deeds of cession of catoecic land, P. Teb. II 294 (A.D. 146, an application to the idiologus for the post of προφήτης in the temple of Soknebtynis), 17-20: μένειν δέ μοι καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ μεταληφόμενοις ἢ τούτων κυρεία καὶ κράτης ἐπὶ τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τιμίσι καὶ δικαίοις πάσι.

9-10 ἀκολούθως . . . ἐπεσταλμένοις. At the end of the Ptolemaic period it was common practice for the φιλάνθρωπα to become the object of successive royal ordinances, so that an indulgence originally granted in extraordinary circumstances could thus be extended to other groups and receive the force of law (cf. M.-Th. Lenger, op. cit.). In this case, the ordinances and regulations generically cited confirmed clearly that the possibility of cession should not annul the benefits previously accorded to the allotment. The προτάγματα and ἐπιστάλατα, many of which concerned cleruchs and their lands, are collected in C. Ord. Ptol.; in general, for the juridical position of cleruchic property, see J. Lesquier, *Inst. Mil.*, 224-54.

10 ὑπέληφεν. Cf. CPR I 1 (= *SPP* XX I, A.D. 83/4), 21: ἀποτινάτω . . . παραχρήμα ὃ ὑπέληφεν παραχωρητικὸν κεφάλαιον μεθ' ἡμιολίας.

εὐχρηστικῶν. Cf. BGU VIII 1739. 13 (the other papyri in this group have the expression ἀνθ' ὧν πεποιήται . . . εὐχρηστίων). For the meaning and importance of εὐχρηστίαι in deeds of cession of catoecic land see W. Kunkel, *ZRG (Röm. Abt.)* 48 (1928) 288. For the perfect without reduplication, which is not abnormal, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §429, esp. (7).

The underlying situation in 10-11 is as follows: Dionysius has lent to Theon sufficient money to pay the taxes on the latter's holdings, and now receives 9½ aruras out of those holdings in repayment of the debt. It is to be noted, however, that throughout the deed care is taken to avoid terminology proper to contracts of sale and loan. All wording which might imply transference of money between the parties is deliberately omitted; thus εὐχρηστεῖν, 'to be of service to a person', is used in preference to δανείζω. In the Roman period there is no longer any *raison d'être* for this attitude, and more precise verbs are used which more closely represent the actual facts: λαμβάνω (P. Ryl. II 159. 18), but especially ἀπέχω (P. Ryl. II 159. 37; III 504 17, 46; PSI VIII 897. 45, 72 and 89, and P. Strasb. 266. 18), ἔχω (PSI VIII 897. 23) and προπέχω (PSI X 1118. 14).

ἐμ (l. ἐν) πλείοσιν. Cf. P. Dura 18. 6, 23. Note PSI X 1118. 13-15 and P. Ryl. II 159. 18-19, where it is said that the party now making the cession had had recourse to a loan in pressing circumstances, ἐν ἐπείγουσι καιροῖς. This latter expression is Ptolemaic in origin and it is interesting to find it in C. Ord. Ptol. 71 i 4, an ordinance extending to the cleruchs of the Heracleopolite nome a penal and fiscal amnesty already granted to those in the Arsinoite.

10-11 τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον. Cf. XIV 1635 11 and note, now clarified by the present text.

11 βασιλικῶν. Cf. 12. The reference is to the numerous tax burdens to which the cleruchs were subjected (cf. J. Lesquier, *Inst. Mil.*, 212-23), including the *στέφανοι* explicitly mentioned in the Heracleopolite cessions (cf. BGU VIII 1731. 8, 1732. 8-9, 1733. 10-11, 1734. 8-9, 1735. 14, 1739. 13 and 1740. 1C).

12 ἀπὸ... χρόνων. In the absence of more specific dates this must mean that the land is transferred free from tax liabilities up to the date of the drawing up of the deed. Only in the present deed is a precise date lacking, and the fact is somewhat surprising given that it was a means of better self-protection on the part of the person making the cession. In the Heracleopolite cessions the land is declared to be free from tax liabilities up to the date of the *μετεπιγραφή* (cf. BGU VIII 1731. 10-13, 1732. 11-12, 1733. 13-15 and 1735. 16-18) or else the terminal point is specified. In the Oxyrhynchite deeds of Roman date the land is clear of taxes up to the end of the year preceding that in which the deed of cession was drawn up, cf. III 504 24-8; PSI VIII 897. 30-4, 79-82; P. Ryl. II 159. 23-7 and P. Strasb. 266. 5-7. On this basis it should be possible to assign a more precise date to PSI X 1118; since the land is declared clear of taxes up to the end of the 11th year of Tiberius (lines 18-20), the deed should have been drawn up during the 12th year, i.e. A.D. 25/6.

14 ἀθετῆ. In the Heracleopolite cessions and in the Roman-date Oxyrhynchite ones *παρασυγγραφεῖν* is commonly used (cf. 100 35 below). For *ἀθετεῖν* cf. BGU IV 1013. 20, 1123. 11; P. Dura 18. 8, 27, 28; P. Mich. III 186. 21, 187. 20; P. Oslo II 31. 21; SB V 8035a 19 and VI 8974 fragm. 3, 31.

15 [εἶδος. Cf. UPZ II 196. 35 (116 B.C.); II 270 44; P. Ryl. II 159. 30; PSI VIII 897. 36, 83; PSI X 1118. 24, and P. Strasb. 266. 11.

17 τ]ῆς μὲν λεγομένης τῶν δεκαεξῆ ἀρουρῶν σφραγίδος. A topographical novelty.

18 τῆς καλουμένης Κώων γῆς is a novelty. The presence of Coans in the Oxyrhynchite nome was not previously attested. Note the much later XXXVI 2771 (A.D. 323).

20 διατεῖνον βορρᾶ. For the use of the genitive cf. III 505 6.

21 ἐκ τοῦ Καλλίππου (sc. κλήρου). This κλήρος is not *prima facie* recorded in P. Pruneti, 'I κλήροι del nomo Ossirinichite', *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 159-244. We are grateful to Professor Jacques Schwartz in Strasbourg for confirming a query, that Καλλ. . του in P. Strasb. 534. 4 (Pruneti, op. cit. p. 184) should be corrected to Καλλίππου.

22 γύη. Cf. XVII 2098 introd., ἐν τῷ ἄνω γύει. For γύαι in the Oxyrhynchite nome cf. further II 373 (descr.); VI 918 ii 4, 10; X 1279 12; XII 1537 15; XIV 1636 14; XVII 2134 17; PSI VIII 897. [14], 44; PSI IX 1078. 19; and negatively XLII 3047 5 etc. (ἀγνοσητότου). For the significance of γύης see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 34; P. Teb. I 62 introd.; P. Teb. I 105. 13 n. and II 311. 18 n.; P. Hamb. I 62. 10 n.; W. Crönert, *CR* 17 (1903) 194, and C. Gallazzi, *ZPE* 31 (1978) 94 (re-editing P. Teb. II 445).

25 χωρὶς τ[ο]ῦ ἄκυρα εἶναι. Cf. XIV 1644 22-3 and P. Mich. III 194. 24-5. In deeds of cession of catoecic land the more usual form of the saving clause (for which see A. Berger, *Strafklauseln*, 47-50, 85) is *μηθὲν ἕσσω τὰ διωμολογημένα κύρια ἔσσω*: cf. 15-16, and BGU VIII 1731. 18, 1734. 23; III 504 32; P. Ryl. II 159. [31]; PSI VIII 897. 39, 85 and X 1118. 25, and P. Strasb. 266. 12.

26 Should the amount of the fine already expressed in 15 be repeated here? The traces preceding φ are too damaged to permit reading (part of) ἀργυρίου (δραχμάς) here.

συνευδοκεῖ. Cf. BGU VIII 1731. 12-13 (consent of wife), 1733. 16-17 (consent of brother) and 1738. 20 (consent of son). This third-party consent to the cession indicates that the person giving approval has legal rights over the property capable of exercise at any moment. Wives of cleruchs may have had or been able to acquire certain rights over the holdings, if the fiscal and penal amnesty in a royal ordinance could be extended beyond the catoecic cavalry to their wives and sons, see C. Ord. Ptol. 71. 6. Further, a wife has rights on any and all property which could be used to help repay her dowry in case of divorce, see G. Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander*, 137-43.

Among Oxyrhynchite cessions of Roman date the consent of third parties is found in III 504 32.

27 Cf. 31.

28 The oath is reconstructed on the basis of the preceding *παραχώρησις* and of P. Fouad 38 (first half of the first century B.C.). That papyrus contains precisely the final part of an oath consequent on a deed of cession, from a formulaic point of view sufficiently close to 3482 to allow us to suppose that it too comes from Oxyrhynchus. BGU VIII 1735-40 are oaths of the same type, but they were written separately, on different sheets from those containing the deeds of cession.

32 διὰ τῶν ἀγορανόμων. An equally possible supplement would be μνημόνων instead of ἀγορανόμων. At Oxyrhynchus the ἀγορανομεῖον is documented from the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, BGU x 1973. 2, 1974. 1, and P. Berl. inv. 11803. 16, 29 (publ. by F. Uebel, *Festschr. zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, Berlin, 1974, pp. 441 seqq.). Moreover at Oxyrhynchus in the Roman period the ἀγορανομεῖον was interested in cessions of catoecic land even though the relevant deeds had not been drawn up through it, cf. I 45–7, 165, 174–6, and II 341–2, 344, 346–7. It is now generally accepted that the ἀγορανομεῖον and the μνημονεῖον are substantially one and the same, in Oxyrhynchus in the Roman period at any rate; see M. G. Raschke, *BASP* 13 (1976) 23–6.

36 Contrast the solemnity of ἀναπεφωνημένων with the simplicity of the parallel P. Fouad 38. 4–5, τὰς κειμένας δι' αὐτῆς διαστολάς. Cf. P. Fay. 14. 2–3, τοῦ ἀναπεφωνημένου Νουμηνίου στεφάνου, and UPZ II 162 col. v. 26, τοῦ ἀντιδίκου ἀναπεφωνηκότος.

38 Cf. P. Fouad 38. 9. Its missing upper portion was obviously composed like 3482 of παραχώρησις followed by an agreement settling the details. Lines 2 seqq. there provide further evidence.

εὐθνηθῶ. Cf. P. Fouad 38. 11 with the note on p. 100.

40 The subscription of an as yet unidentified official, perhaps from the μνημονεῖον or ἀγορανομεῖον. Cf. 31 and n. Transcription of the cursive and partly damaged last part has so far eluded us. There is possibly a superscript indication of abbreviation at the end.

3483. *CONTRACT*

34 4B. 76/K (10)a

4.5 × 18.5 cm.

Early first century

All that remains of this contract is a strip showing the foot and parts of twelve lines, which contained several standard elements of its close. These are a *πράξις*-clause (1–5), a *κυρία*-clause (5), the subscription of an amanuensis (6–8), apparently but not certainly in the hand of 1–5, date (9–10), and the subscriptions of two witnesses (11–12). The back is blank.

.

c. 15 letters] . c οὐχη[
 coi(?) ἔκ τε ἡμῶν ἀμφοτέρων κ[αὶ
 ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν ἡμῶν ἐρῆι καὶ ἐκ [τῶν
 ὑπαρχόντων] ἡμῖν πάντων [κα-
 5 θάπερ ἐκ δίκης. ἡ χεὶρ κυρί[α.
 c. 10] . ρίωνος ἔγραψ[α
 αὐτῶν μοι (?)] συνταξάντων [
 διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδῆναι αὐτοὺς γρ[(ἀμματα?).
 c. 10] Καίσαρος Σεβαστ[οῦ
 10 c. 10] (vac.) [
 c. 10] ξους μαρτυρῶ. (vac.)[
 c. 10] Τρύφωνος μαρτυ[ρῶ.

3 l. αἰρή 4 l. ἡμῖν 8 l. εἰδέναι

1 At this point we expect *πράξις*. The remains look like]α, for which no plausible explanation has yet been suggested. However, it could still be correct. Omega is just possible.

2 If not *κοι*(?), perhaps *ύμῶν*(?).

6 At first sight the ligature suggests]*q* or]*ξ*, but in *ήμῶν*(3) the omega ligatures to nu.

7 For *συνταξάντων* cf. E. Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, 70. To his examples add, from WB s.v. *συντάσσω*, P. Gradenwitz 7. 23. For *αὐτῶν μοι*(?) cf. P. Rein. 1 11. 31. The other examples have *ἔγραψα*, *αὐτῶν συνταξάντων*. P. Rein. 11 is of the second century B.C., the others of the third century B.C.

9-10 The month and day were probably specified in 10, implying that the titlature ended with *σεβαστ[οῦ]*. Perhaps there is a statistical probability that the emperor was Tiberius, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 25-7, i.e. restore (*ἔτους*) *η. Τιβερίου* *Καίσαρος Σεβαστ[οῦ]*(month, day)]. A short title of Gaius would also fit, but his title more usually contained *Γερμανικοῦ* after *σεβαστοῦ*, see Bureth, *op. cit.*, 28-9.

3484. FREIGHT CONTRACT

58/B (63)a

14 × 19 cm.

A.D. 27-33

The papyrus lacks both head and foot and is broken and badly rubbed in many areas. The ends of lines 5-29 are preserved but the beginnings of only 19-29. There is a sheet join c. 2.5 cm. from the right-hand edge. The back is blank.

The contract has unusual features, some of which are obscured by the damage. Only one other document, see *ZPE* 20 (1976) 162-5, provides for a round trip. The voyage is from Oxyrhynchus outwards to Euergetis in the Cynopolite nome with a cargo of wheat and thence back to Oxyrhynchus with a cargo of wine. The document has the air of a private contract between three shippers, named in line 8, and a party whose name or title has been irrecoverably damaged in 21 and 27. If that is so, it is the earliest surviving private contract for river transport. Some doubts arise because there are mentions of a supercargo, *τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ου συνπεμφθηρόμενον ἐπίπλου* (27-8), and of a percentage charge of some kind (13). These are features otherwise found only in contracts for the transport of goods delivered to the state, see the synoptic table in A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer*, 90-103.¹ It is possible, therefore, that the person whose name, or perhaps title, is lost in 21 and 27 was an official arranging transport of state goods. But the payment in two instalments is also typical of private contracts, see Meyer-Termeer, *op. cit.* 12.

¹ Three Oxyrhynchite documents referred to in this book by their inventory numbers, see *ibid.* index p. 274, have now been published as P. Oxy. Hels. 14, 20, and 37.

.
 c. 20 letters]*πα*.[.].*του*.[.].[.]
 c. 20]*τικω*.[.]*να*, ὥστ[ε ἄ]ποκατ[α-
 στήσαι εἰς *Εὐεργέτιδα* τοῦ] *Κυνο[πο]λείτου*, *να[ύλ]ου* τοῦ[
συμφωνηθέντος πρὸς ἀλλ[ή]λους, [*καθ*]αρῶν ἀπ[ὸ π]άντω[ν,
 5 τοῦ ἀναπλόου τοῦ πυ]ροῦ *κα[ὶ κατ]απλόου* τ[οῦ] ὀἴνου ἀργυ-
 ρίου *σεβαστοῦ* καὶ *Πτολ]εμαϊκοῦ* [*ν*]ομίματ[ο]ς δραχμῶν
 c. 20] ἀφ' ὧν αὐτόθεν ὁμολογοῦσι οἱ νε-
 ναυλωκότες c. 8] *ἰρις* καὶ *Γάϊος* καὶ *Πόπλιος* ἔχειν

παρὰ τοῦ c. 7 ἐν Ὀξυ]ρύγχων πόλει διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου
 10 c. 20]ου δραχμὰς τριακοσίας, τὸ δὲ
 λοιπὸν ὁ c. 7 ἀ]ποδότω αὐτοῖς ἐν Εὐεργέτιδι
 c. 15] οἴνου καὶ σπονδῆς νιαν[ί]σκοις κερά-
 μιον ἔν. c. 12] δὲ οἱ νεναυλωκότος ἑκατοστῆς
 c. 15 ὡς τ]ῶν ἑκατὸν κεραμίων κεράμιον
 15 ἔν c. 13 ἀν]ηλώματα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀνάπλου
 τοῦ πυροῦ c. 10 π]ρὸς τὸν κατάπλου τοῦ οἴνου εἰ
 c. 18]ου καὶ πηδαλίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν θη-
 c. 18] ἀπαιτηθησομένου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ
 πάντῳ[ν τῶ]ν τῶν ἀναπλόου καὶ καταπλόου καὶ
 20 τῶν ἄλλ[ω]ν ἀνηλωμάτων πάντων [ὄν]των
 πρὸς τὸν .[.]. .[.]. ν. τῆ [ο]ῦν τρί[τ]η τοῦ ε.[. . .]. τος μη-
 γὸς Φαρμουῦθ[ι τ]οῦ . . . κ[α]ιδ[ε]κάτου [ἔτους] Τ[ι]βέριου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ παραστη[σ]άτωσαν [οἱ] νεναυλω-
 κότος πρ[ὸ]ς τὸν ἀ[ν]άπλου τοῦ πυ[ροῦ] εἰς Εὐερ-
 25 γέδιδα α ἐτύμον πρὸς ἐμ-
 βολὴν τοῦ πυροῦ κ[α]ὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν πυρὸν
 καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν .[. .]. ου συνπεμφθησόμενον
 ἐπίπλου ἀποπλευσάτω <σαν> {ἑατῶ παρεχόμενος}
 ἑατῶς παρεχόμενοι ἐν τῶ .[.]. ὁ.[. . .]. [. . .] . . ω
 30 c. 30].[c. 5

9 l. χιρὸς 12 l. νεανίσκοις 13 l. νεναυλωκότες 18 δέ corr. from καὶ 23-4 l. νεναυλω-
 κότες 24-5 l. Εὐεργέτιδα 25 l. ἐτοιμόν 26 l. ἀναλαβόντες 27 l. συμπεμφθησόμενον
 28 l. ἑαυτῶ 29 l. ἑαυτοῖς

'...so as to deliver to Euergetis in the Cynopolite nome, at the freight charge agreed upon between each party, free from all charges, for the carriage of the wheat upstream and of the wine downstream, of...drachmas of silver in imperial and Ptolemaic coinage, from which the charterers, . . . iris, Gaius, and Publius, acknowledge that they have received on the spot from...in the city of the Oxyrhynchi from hand to hand out of the house three hundred drachmas... , but the remainder...is to pay to them in Euergetis (at the loading of the?) wine, as well as one ceramion of wine as a gratuity to the lads. And the charterers are to...as a percentage...on one hundred ceramia one ceramion...expenses for the carriage of the wheat upstream...for the carriage of the wine downstream... , the charges for...and pilotage(?) and the sum that will be exacted at the... , as well as all the expenses of the carriage upstream and downstream and all other expenses, being the responsibility of...Therefore on the third of the...month of Pharmuthi of the...teenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the charterers are to supply for the carriage of the wheat upstream to Euergetis the boat ready for the loading of the wheat, and having taken on board the wheat and the supercargo who will be sent with it by...they are to sail off, providing for themselves...

3 *Εὐεργέτιδα τοῦ Κυνο[πο]λείτου*. Cf. 11, 24–5. P. Osl. III 114 concerns the mistaken description of land actually in the Oxyrhynchite nome as belonging to the Cynopolite, the owners coming from a place called Euergetis. The editor's note on line 5 ends, 'an Euergetis in the Cynopolite, which might perhaps have caused the mistake, is unknown'. This new document reinforces the implied theory. The Euergetis in IV 814 (description) is arguably the same, since the excerpted text contains the passage, 'Κύνος Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐεργέ[ιδος]'. Κύνος reappears as a personal name in F. Preisigke, *NB* s.v. Κύνος, but it may be better taken as Κύνος, the genitive of the personal name Κύων, see *NB* and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. Names in Herm- and Pan- are frequent in the Hermopolite and Panopolite nomes, so Cyon may well indicate a connexion with the Cynopolite nome, which adjoins the Oxyrhynchite. Similarly the name of Lycaena daughter of Lycas in P. Köln II 85 may well indicate that the Euergetis of that text is the one in the Lycopolite nome. For these and other places of the same name see A. Calderini, *Dizionario geografico*, II, 1, pp. 183–4; add at least P. Köln I 55, II 85.

4 *συμφωνηθέντος*. Cf. e.g. M. Chr. 341. 5, XLIII 3111 9. Alternatives are *διεσταμένου* (XLV 3250 10) and *συμπεφωνημένου* (P. Oxy. Hels. 37. 4).

4–5 For the supplement cf. 15–16, 19, 24.

7–8 ἀφ' ὧν . . . ἔχειν. The payment in two instalments is typical of private freight contracts, see introd.

9 The name or title of the person hiring the boat was of c. 7 letters, cf. [11], 21, 27.

10 It is not clear whether we should restore ἀργυρίῳ preceded by some other phrase or ἀργυρίου followed either by *Κεραστοῦ* or *Πτολεμαϊκοῦ*, or by some combination of words such as these and ἐπίσημος, δόκιμος, ἀρεστός, cf. P. Hamb. I 2. 10, 14–15.

10–11 The exact amount outstanding is usually specified in the form τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς δραχμάς . . ., with or without the addition of τοῦ ναύλου, cf. XLV 3250 14, P. Ross.-Georg. II 18. 130–1, 190, M. Chr. 341. 7, but in P. Iand. inv. 616+245. 22–4, see *ZPE* 20 (1976) 163, we find [τὸ δὲ] λοιπὸν ἀπολήμψεσθαι ἅμα [τῇ ἐν Ὁξυρ]υγγείτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς Τεβεννοῦ[θεως ἐκβ]ολῆς.

11–12 In these contracts the balance owing is usually payable on the unloading of the cargo, cf. XLV 3250 15, P. Ross.-Georg. II 18. 30, 149, M. Chr. 341. 7. In this case, however, Euergetis is the harbour at which the wheat is unloaded, see 24–5, and it looks as if the second instalment was to be paid at the loading of the wine, [ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς τοῦ] οἴνου.

12 σπονδῆς. Cf. *Symb. Osl.* 17 (1937) 26–48. One ceramion was a customary amount, see *ibid.* 37, XLIII 3111 15.

ναυ[ί]σκοις = νεανίσκοις. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, 249, 256.

13 νεναυλωκότος = -τες. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, 291. Similar spellings occur in lines 23–4, 26.

13–15 Ὀν ἑκατοσταί see Meyer-Termeer, *op. cit.* 17–19. The conclusion there is that these additions were extra charges to be delivered to the state. Here the situation is still obscure. It is noticeable that the percentage is applied only, as far as can be seen, to the wine cargo on the return journey. In 13 supply an imperative such as *παραλαβέτωσαν* or *ἀναλαβέτωσαν*. At the beginning of 14 restore perhaps τῆς κελευθειῆς, cf. XXXIII 2670 35–6, Meyer-Termeer, *op. cit.* 107 n. 301.

15 The form ἀν[η]λώματα, probably accusative, seems to suggest that the transporters were to receive an advance for expenses, which were to fall on the other party, see 18–21.

16 At the end of the line ετι (= ἔτι?) is the obvious reading of the undamaged writing; εν (= ἔν?) might be possible, since ἔτι occurs again in 18.

17–21 The sense of this clause is well paralleled in P. Oxy. Hels. 37. 4–5 τῶν τελῶν καὶ ἀναλωμάτων καὶ κατὰ ποταμὸν δαπανῶ[ν] καὶ ἐνορμίων καὶ ξυλικῶν ὄντων πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν νεναυλωμένον.

17 πηδαλίου. Cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 263 ('probably a fee for the services of the pilot'), 264, 275, 465 nn. 42, 44.

17–18 This charge is possibly to be related to ταμείου, see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 264 ('storage'), 265. If so, restore something like τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν θη[σαυρῶν τῶν ὀρμῶν] ἀπαιτηθησομένου.

21 The traces allow εἰ[σι]ντος or ἐν[εστ]ῶτος, but the former is perhaps preferable, see *ZPE* 20 (1976) 163, where the contract is dated Thoth 4 and the loading is to begin τῇ δευ[τέρῃ τοῦ ἐ]ξῆς μηνὸς Φαῶφι (26–7).

22 Space favours *τρικαιδεκάτου* (A.D. 27) or *ἑπτακαιδεκάτου* (A.D. 31), but the traces are minimal, so that the safe date range is years 13 to 19, i.e. A.D. 27–33.

25 Before ἐτῆμον = ἐτοῖμον alpha is virtually certain, and -τῶνα is easy to accept. This points to *πάκτων*

or *σκαφοπάκτων* as the type of the boat. The space would suit τὸν *σκαφοπάκτωνα* reasonably well, but this cannot readily be reconciled with the traces, though it might be right even so. The previous instances of *σκαφοπάκτων* are all of the third century A.D., XII 1554 7, XLIII 3111 2, and ZPE 20 (1976) 163-4, lines 6 and 25. The phonetic spelling in the last-mentioned text, *σκαποπάκτων*, does not help to fit this word to the traces.

In ZPE 20 (1976) 164 line 26 the lacuna should be filled with [έτοιμον] rather than [Δημητρίω], i.e. τὸν *σκαποπάκτωνα* [έτοιμον] πρὸς έμβολήν.

26-8 From this passage we may supply *κα[ι ἀναλα]βόντες τὸν νεναυλωμένον* in ZPE 20 (1976) 27-8.

28 *έπίπλουν*. Cf. Meyer-Termier, op. cit. 56, P. Oxy. Hels. 20, *Arctos* 12 (1978) 5-17. Though they have appeared before only in state contracts, see introd., it seems quite possible that a private contractor should supply a supercargo to represent his interests on board.

28-9 For *έατῶ, έατῶς* cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 1, 187. The scribe has made an unsuccessful attempt to adapt his singular formula to the plural. For the sense expected cf. XLV 3250 21-2 *έαυτῶ παρεχόμενος έν τῷ ἀνάπλω καί κατάπλω τήν ἤσ σκαφῆς χορηγίαν πάσαν έντελή καί ναύτας ίκανούς*, but the wording here was apparently not quite the same.

3485. LOAN OF MONEY

34 4B. 76/K (4-5)c+(7-9)a

13.8 × 36.5 cm.

23 August A.D. 38

A loan of 108 silver drachmas from Ischyriion to Hermogenes and Hermias. A piece is missing from the middle of the document and what remains has been broken into several pieces, but the employment of standard formulas in these contracts means that most lines can be restored with confidence at least in their general sense.

The loan was drawn up in the standard form of a notarial contract, see P. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, 88-9, and registered in the grapheion of Sinary.

On the loan in general see M. Gdz., 113-65, R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 341-52, H.-A. Rupprecht, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen*.

έτους δευτέρου Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ,
 Μεσορήι τρ[ι]ακάς, έν κόμη Cιναρὸν τῆς κάττωι το-
 παρχίας τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου. έδάνεισεν Ἰςχυρίων Ἰ-
 Διονυσίου Ἐρμογένει Ἐρμογένου τοῦ Δημη-
 5 τρίου νεωτέρωι [. . .] καί Ἐρμία Ζηνοδώρου νε-
 ωτέρωι ἀ[μ]φοτέροισ Πέρσαις τῆς έπιγονῆς έν
 ἀγνιᾷ ἀρ[γυρίου Σεβαστ]οῦ κ[αί Π]τολε[μ]αικοῦ νομίς-
 ματος δρ[αχμὰς έκατὸν ὀκτ]ῶι κεφαλαίου αἰς
 οὐδέν τῶ[ι καθόλου προς]ῆκται. αποδότησαν
 10 δέ οἱ δεδ[ανειςμένοι τῶι Ἰ]ςχυρίωι τὰς τοῦ
 ἀργυρίου [δραχμὰς έκατὸν ὀ]κτῶι τῆ τριακάδι
 τοῦ Χοίαχ [τοῦ εἰσιόντος τρίτ]ου έτους Γαίου
 Καίσαρο[ς Σεβαστοῦ Γερμα]νικοῦ. έάν δέ μῆ
 αποδῶσι [καθὰ γέγραπται, ἀ]ποτεισάτωσαν

- 15 οἱ δεδαν[εισμένοι τῶι Ἰσχυρίωνι τὸ μὲν δά-
 νειον μ[εθ' ἡμιολίας, τοὺς δὲ τόκους τοῦ ὑ-
 περπεσό[ντος χρόνου τοὺς καθήκοντας, ἐγγύων
 ἀλλήλων εἰς ἕκτιςιν ὄντων, τῆς πράξεως οὐσης τῶι
 Ἰσχυρίωνι ἐκ τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐνός καὶ ἐξ οὗ
- 20 ἐὰν αὐτῶν [αἰρήται καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς
 πάγ[των καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης, μὴ ἐλαττουμένω περι
 ῶν [ἄλλων ὀφείλει Ἑρμίας ἢ Ἰσχυρίωνι ἢ τῇ γυ-
 ναικί αὐτοῦ κ[α]θ' ἑτέραν ἀσφ[άλειαν. κυρία
 ἢ συγγραφῆι. xxxxxx (vac.)
- 25 (m. 2) Ἑρμογένης Ἑρμογένους καὶ Ἑρμίας Ζηνοδώρου νεώτερος
 δεδανείσμεθα τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ὀκτώϊ
 κεφαλαίου καὶ ἀποδώσομεν δι' ἐγγύων ἀλλήλων
 καθότι πρόκειται. (m. 3) Ἑρμίας Ζηνοδώρου νεώτερος
 καὶ Ἑρμογένης νεώτερος δεδανείσμεθα τὰς τοῦ {αρ}
- 30 ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ὀκτώϊ κεφαλαίου καὶ
 ἀποδώσομεν δι' ἐγγύων ἀλλ(ήλ)ων καθότι πρόκειται,
 κατὰ μηδὲν ἐλαττουμένου σοῦ ἐν οἷς ἄλλοις ὀφείλω
 σοι καθ' ἑτέραν ἀσφάλειαν. (m. 4) Ἰσχυρίων Διονυσίου
 δεδάνικα καθότι πρόκειται. ἔτους δευτέρου Γαίου
- 35 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Μεσορήι τριακάς.
 διὰ Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ πρὸς τῶι γραφίωι κώμης
 Σιναρῦνι καὶ ἐτέρων τόπων κεχρημάτιςται.
 Back. (m. 1) ἔτους β̄ Γαίου Καί[σ]αρ[ο]ς Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ,
 Μεσορή λ. (δραχμῶν) ρη. Ἰσχυρίωνος
- 40 τοῦ Διονυσίου πρ(ός) Ἑρμογένην καὶ Ἑρμίαν.

2 l. Μεσορή, κάτω 11 l. ὀκτώ 24 l. συγγραφῆ 26 l. δεδανείσμεθα, ὀκτώ 27 l. ἐγγύων
 30 l. ὀκτώ 31 l. ἐγγύων 32 σοῦ; ς corr. from μ 33 l. ἀσφάλειαν 34 l. δεδάνικα
 35 l. Μεσορή 36 l. γραφείω 37 l. Σιναρῦνι 40 ρ = πρ(ός)

'Second year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, 30 Mesore, in the village of Sinary in the Lower Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite. Ischyriion son of Dionysius has loaned to Hermogenes junior, son of Hermogenes grandson of Demetrius, and to Hermias junior, son of Zenodorus, both Persians of the succession, in the street, 108 drachmas of silver of Imperial and Ptolemaic coinage as principal to which nothing at all has been added. Let the debtors pay back the 108 drachmas of silver to Ischyriion on the thirtieth of Choiach of [the coming third?] year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. If they do not pay it back [according to the contract], let the debtors pay back the loan [to Ischyriion with a penalty of one half and the interest] for the overtime [also at the same rate]; and let them be mutual [guarantors for recovery], Ischyriion [having right of execution against them together and singly and against

whichever one] of them [he chooses and against] all [their property as if in accordance with a legal judgment, the rights of Ischyriion being undiminished with respect to other debts which Hermias owes him or] his wife according to another pledge. The contract [is valid].'

(2nd hand) 'We, Hermogenes son of Hermogenes and Hermias minor, son of Zenodorus, have borrowed 108 drachmas of silver as principal and we shall pay it back as mutual guarantors, according to the above conditions.'

(3rd hand) 'We, Hermias minor, son of Zenodorus, and Hermogenes minor have borrowed 108 drachmas of silver as principal and we shall pay it back as mutual guarantors, according to the above conditions, with no diminution of your rights in respect of other debts which I owe you according to another pledge.'

(4th hand) 'I, Ischyriion, son of Dionysius, have made the loan according to the above conditions. Second year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, 30 Mesore. The loan has been transacted through Achilles, overseer of the grapheion of the village of Sinary and the other places.'

Back (1st hand) 'Year 2 of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Mesore 30; 108 dr. (Contract) of Ischyriion son of Dionysius with Hermogenes and Hermias.'

2 Μεσορήι . . . κώμη . . . κάρτωι, cf. e.g. νεφτέρωι (5). Iota adscript is written intermittently and sometimes added falsely. On ηι for η and ωι for ω see Mayser I 1², pp. 106–8, 112–14.

6–7 ἐν ἀγνιᾷ. The public notary who drew up the contract would have his 'office' and would carry out his business seated on the ground by the roadside, see A. Traversa, *SO* 37 (1961) 102, n. 4. The phrase also indicates that the loan money had been paid over before the notary as witness instead of being paid through a bank or from cash in hand (διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου) as in many private loans.

7–8 Σεβαστ]ρῶν κ[αὶ Π]τολεμα[μα]κοῦ νομίματα. Cf. P. Oslo inv. 1447 (ed. A. Traversa, *SO* 37 (1961) 109). At this period the adjectives refer respectively to the silver coinage of the Augustan period, issued on the Ptolemaic standard, and the billon tetradrachms of Tiberius, who resumed the minting of silver at Alexandria; see L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency*, 1–12. By the third century, however, the term 'Ptolemaic' seems to have lost much of its original meaning: XXXI 2587, introd., and M. Crawford's note to XLI 2951 24–5.

9 Supplement, cf. P. Mich. I 32. 9–10; P. Yale I 64. 10.

12 Supplement *exempli gratia*. Loans are found for varying periods of time, see Rupprecht, *Darlehen*, 21–2; 84, n. 55.

17–18 Cf. H. W. van Soest, *De civielrechtelijke 'Eγγύη*, 67–89; H.-A. Rupprecht, op. cit. 18; R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 303–7.

18–21 τῆς πράξεως κτλ: supplement, cf. P. Amh. II 50. 24–5. On the πράξις clause, guaranteeing the creditor's right of execution, see H. J. Wolff, *TAPA* 72 (1941) 418–38; H.-A. Rupprecht, op. cit. 104–17; M. Gdz. 119–22.

21 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. A common provision in the πράξις clause, its meaning has been the matter of some dispute. H. J. Wolff, *Proc. XII Int. Congr. Papyrol.* 527–35, argues that its meaning should be 'according to customary and accepted legal procedure' rather than 'as if in accordance with a legal judgment'.

21–3 The mention of Ischyriion's wife at this late stage in the contract is unusual but the reading is secure.

22 Hermias' name is secured here by the fact that the μὴ ἐλαττωμένου clause is repeated only in his subscription (32–3), not in that of Hermogenes.

23–4 On this clause see M. Hässler, *Kyria-Klausel*, esp. ch. 1.

36–7 For the various types of notation used by public notaries see M. Gdz. 60–1, H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht*, II 90–1. For an account of the grapheion at Tebtunis see P. Mich. II and v, Introductions; E. Husselman in *Proc. XII Int. Congr. Papyrol.* 223–38.

3486. ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN GRAIN

A B36/9 E

8 × 14.5 cm.

A.D. 41/42?

Order for the payment to an Alexandrian citizen of a quantity of grain from a private account, addressed to a sitologus. Cf. XXXI 2588–90, with the introd. to 2588–91. The back is blank.

Διογένης Θεαγένους Φιλώτα
 [ε]ιτο[λ]όγωι χαίρειν. διάστι-
 λον ἀφ' οὗ ἔχεις μου μετρή-
 ματος γενήματος πρώτου
 5 [ἔτου]ς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 [{Κλ]αυδίου} Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 [Γ]ερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος
 Ἀντιόχῳ Θεώνος Ζηνίῳ
 π[υ]ροῦ σύνπαντι ἀρτάβας
 10 ἑκατὸν δέκα, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ρι.
 [(ἔτους) β(?) Τ]ιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
 [Σεβασ]τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 [Αὐτοκρ]άτορος[ο]ς, μηνὸς
 [.]οῦ ξ̄.

2–3 l. διάστειλον 8 l. Ζηνίῳ

‘Diogenes, son of Theagenes, to Philotas, sitologus, greetings. Transfer to Antiochus, son of Theon, of the Zenian deme, altogether one hundred and ten artabas of wheat (tot. art. of wheat 110), from the credit you hold for me from the produce of the first year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator.

‘The 2nd(?) year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, 5th of the month. . .’

3 ἀφ' οὗ. Cf. XXXI 2588 7, where φη should be corrected to οὗ (original examined by R. A. Coles).

3–4 ἀφ' οὗ ἔχεις μου μετρήματος is an unusual expression in documents of this type. Presumably it simply means the grain paid in, i.e. credited, to Diogenes' account, and is thus effectively equivalent to the common formula ἀφ' οὗ ἔχεις μου ἐν θέματι πυροῦ. Note that the relative pronoun in that formula generally refers forward to πυροῦ (not so, however, with the plural version ἀφ' ὧν, e.g. XXXVIII 2869 3–4 ἀφ' ὧν ἔχετέ μου ἐν θέμα(τι) πυρο(ῶν), where ὧν is clearly read and the relative must be otherwise explained: presumably sc. ἀρταβῶν), but that this cannot be the case here with πυροῦ in 9. For πυροῦ in that position cf. XXXI 2588 12, but there its function is redundant whereas here it is (apart from the γίνονται-phrase in 10) the only specification of the grain-type in the text.

8 Ἀντιόχῳ Θεώνος Ζηνίῳ. Cf. II 261 5–6, Θεώνος[ε τ]οῦ Ἀντιόχου Ἀξιμητορείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀηνείου, where Ἀηνείου is a misreading for Ζηνείου. 261 is dated A.D. 55 and it may be the same Antiochus, recorded there as Theon's father, who is himself active in the present earlier document. For the designation of Alexandrian citizens by their demotic see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I, p. 43.

11 (ἔτους) β. It is obviously attractive, but equally not compelling, that the harvest from the produce of which the payment is made should be the most recent one. (ἔτους) α cannot be excluded.

14 The reading]ρν, if correct, indicates that the month-name was a Roman one.

3487. RECEIPT FOR PART-REPAYMENT OF LOAN

37 4B. 111/O (1)a

13.7 × 35.9 cm.

1 October A.D. 65

Tausoreus acknowledges repayment of part of the money which she had lent her husband nearly two years before. The receipt is a cheirograph, with the bank-transfer of the money noted at the end; for this form (early and Oxyrhynchite) cf. XIV 1639 (73 B.C.? 44 B.C.), various documents of the Archive of Tryphon (A.D. 20–57: H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht d. griechischen Papyri* II 97 and n. 76; M. V. Biscottini, *Aeg.* 46 (1966) 60 seqq., nos. 6, 11, 12, 16, 30, 31, 34), and P. Turner 17. The original loan, which took the same form (12), must have resembled the document in which Tryphon acknowledges a loan from his wife, II 267 = M. Chr. 281. There the loan stood in some relation to the ἄγραφος γάμος between the two parties (267 18 seq.); what exact relation is not clear (Wolff, *Marriages in Hellenistic and Roman Law* 69–72; Biscottini, loc. cit. 200). In 3487 also the parties are married ἀγράφως (3, 22 nn.); but the wording gives no hint that the loan was part or condition of the marriage.

The back is blank.

: 5

Ταυσορεῦς Πανεμγέως τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλ(εως)
 μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ προσήκοντ[ο]ς αὐτῇ [Κ]εφαλάτος
 τοῦ Κεφαλάτος τῷ συνόντι μοι κατὰ [ν]όμον
 5 ἀνδρὶ Σαραπίωνι Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
 αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἀπέχειν
 παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει Σαρα-
 πείου διὰ τῆς Διονυσίου, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τιγῶν Φαύ-
 στου, κα[ὶ] τῶν μετόχων [τρ]απέζης ἀργυρίου
 10 Σεβαστοῦ νομίματος [δραχ]μὰς τριάκοντα
 δύο κεφαλαίου αἷ εἰσιν ἀπ[ὸ] ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν
 ἑβδομήκοντα δύο κεφαλαίου ὧν ἐδάξει-
 σα σοι κατὰ χειρόγραφον καὶ διαγραφὴν διὰ
 τῆς συστάσης ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σαραπίου Ἀπίωνο(ς)
 15 τοῦ Ἀνδρομάχου τοῦ συνεσταμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ
 προγεγραμμένου Διονυσίου τραπέζης τῷ
 Νερωνεῖω Σεβαστῷ μηνὶ τοῦ δεκάτου
 ἔτους Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ

- Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, μὴ ἐλαττουμέ-
 20 νης μου ἐν τῇ πράξει τῶν λοιπῶν δραχμῶν
 τεσσεράκοντα κεφαλαίου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 νῦν τούτων τόκων ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαί-
 ωι ἧς ὀφείλις μοι τῆς συμβιώσεως συγγρα-
 φῆς, κυρίας οὔσης ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δι' αὐτῆς δε-
 25 δηλωμένοις. κυρία ἢ χεῖρ. ἔτους δωδεκάτου
 Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Κα[ίσα]ρος Σεβαστοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Φαῶφι δ̄.
- (m. 2) Ταυσορεύς Πανεμγέως ἀπέχω τὰς
 τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τριάκοντα δύο κεφαλ(αίου)
 30 ἀπὸ ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο,
 μὴ ἐλατ[τ]ουμένης μου ἐν τῇ πράξει τῶν
 λοιπῶν δραχμῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐν τῷ
 δικαίω ἧς ὀφείλεις μοι συγγραφῆς ὡς πρόκειτ(αι).
 Ζωίλος Ὁρου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ ἰδνίας
 35 γράμματα. ἔτους δωδεκάτου Νέρωνος
 Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Αὐτοκράτορος Φαῶφι δ̄. (m. 3) Κεφαλᾶς ἐ-
 πιγέγραμμαι κύριος. (m. 4) ἔτους δω-
 δεκάτου Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 40 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Φαῶφι δ̄, διὰ τῆς Φαύστου
 καὶ τῶν μετόχων τραπέζης γέγονε ἢ διαγραφῆ.

2 π^λ 6 l. ὁμολογῶ 14 ἀπιων^ο 20 l. πράξει 21 l. τεσσαράκοντα 23 l. ὀφείλεις
 29 κεφ^α 33 cgn corr., προκεί^τ 34 l. εἰδνίας 37 final ε corr. from φ

'Tausoreus daughter of Panemgeus, one of those from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, with her kinsman Cephalas son of Cephalas as guardian, to Sarapion son of Ptolemaeus, who lives with me as husband according to the laws, one of those from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have back from you, at the Serapeum by the city of the Oxyrhynchi, through the bank of Dionysius, sometimes called 'of Faustus', and partners, a capital sum of thirty-two drachmas of silver in imperial coinage, which are part of the capital sum of seventy-two drachmas of silver which I lent to you by a cheirograph and a bank-transfer through the bank of Apion son of Andromachus the representative of the aforementioned Dionysius, which is established at the same Serapeum, in the month Neroneus Augustus of the tenth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator: without detriment to my interests in the exaction of the remaining capital sum of forty drachmas and the interest on these from this point and also in my rights under the contract of marriage which you owe me, which is normative in all the points set out in it. This note of hand is normative. Twelfth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phaophi 4.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Tausoreus daughter of Panemgeus, have back the capital sum of thirty-two drachmas of silver out of the seventy-two drachmas of silver, without detriment to my interests in the exaction

of the remaining forty drachmas and in my rights under the contract which you owe me as aforesaid. I, Zoilus son of Horus, wrote for her since she is illiterate. Twelfth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phaophi 4.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Cephalas, have been appointed her guardian.'

(4th hand) 'Twelfth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phaophi 4. The bank-transfer has been made through the bank of Faustus and partners.'

1 Before the stigma = 6 there are two heavily inked dots in a colon pattern. The meaning of the annotation is unknown. It is not clear whether it is written in yet another hand, which would be the fifth. The ink does not vary noticeably with the hands. Cf. P. Turner 17. 1, which has ζ = 7.

2 Ταυσορέυς. Another Tausoreus daughter of Panemgeus, presumably a relation, appears in PSI VIII 874.6 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 132/3); this is the only example of the name in *NB* and *Onomasticon*.

3 [Κ]εφαλάτορς: all letters vestigial, except the characteristic high riser of the phi. The name is guaranteed by 37. Tausoreus' husband would naturally act as her guardian; but he is excluded as an interested party (Taubenschlag, *Law*², 174).

It has also been argued that the husband did not become the wife's guardian if, as in this case, the marriage was *ἀγραφος*. But the documents cited, which all concern entry to the Alexandrian ephebate, are too specialized to prove a general rule. See H. J. Wolff, *Marriages in Hellenistic and Roman Law*, 29.

4 κατὰ [ν]όμους. Cf. P. Grenf. I 21 = M. Chr. 302 (126 B.C.), P. Cairo inv. 10388. 5 in *APF* I (1901) 64 (123 B.C.), BGU VIII 1820. 5 (56/5 B.C.), BGU I 232. 2 (A.D. 108). The last text has τῇ προούσῃ κ[αὶ συν]ούσῃ αὐτῷ κατὰ νόμους γυναικί; since the first part of this phrase regularly describes the wife of an 'unwritten' marriage (e.g. P. Strasb. 237, P. Mil. Vogl. II 71), and since the authority cited is 'law' and not 'contract', it has been deduced that κατὰ νόμους effectively means ἀγράφως (Wolff, loc. cit. 67); the question remains whether this is simply a pious gesture or a reference to some definite law or laws. It is likely enough that Tausoreus and Sarapion have an ἀγραφος γάμος, see 23 n.

8 Διογγέιου. This banker is not listed by Calderini, *Aeg.* 18 (1938) 260 seqq., or in the indexes of later volumes of P. Oxy.

8-9 ὡς δ' ἐπί τιμων Φαύστου. Cf. BGU I 55 ii 1 (as corrected *ibid.* p. 354) 'Αφροδίτης, ὡς δὲ ἐπί τινων Ἀφροδιτοῦτος, 'Aphrodite, called by some Aphroditus'. This is the interpretation of F. Preisigke in *WB* s.v. ἐπί (1), 'Aphrodite, von einigen auch Aphroditus genannt'. It is perhaps near enough right, since in that case the question is one of a variation of the same name. Here it seems more likely that there is a question of different identity. Otherwise τοῦ καὶ would have been enough. Perhaps Faustus was the current representative of the principal figure Dionysius, like the Apion son of Andromachus who appears in 14-15 as a former representative of Dionysius. Perhaps ἐπί τινων means rather 'on some occasions, in some cases, in some circumstances', cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἐπί A. III. 3, i.e. the bank might be known by the name of the principal, Dionysius, or by that of his current representative. Sir Eric Turner has pointed out that this solves the difficulty in P. Turner 17. 8, where for ωδεπιτις, [read now ὡς δ' ἐπί τινων.

The comma may belong more properly after μετόχων, i.e. 'bank of D., or of F and partners', rather than, 'bank of D., or of F., and partners'.

17-19 28 Nov./27 Dec. A.D. 63.

23 ὀφείλεις (l. ὀφείλεις). If he 'owes' her a contract, the contract is in the future. This would fit the regular pattern, in which an 'unwritten' marriage is, after a time, converted into a 'written' marriage by the drawing up of a formal contract (Wolff, loc. cit. 58; e.g. PSI XII 1223. 10). P. Lund VI 3 (SB VI 9353) shows that the husband might bind himself to make such a contract in the future, as part of preliminary financial arrangements (receipt of dowry, presumably) with the bride's family (G. Häge, *Ehegüterrechtliche Verhältnisse*, 163); the contract itself, as the examples make clear, would be largely concerned with adjusting the financial claims of husband and wife on one another (and so Tausoreus specifies that the present settlement will not affect her future claims). None the less, the phrase is odd, especially since οὐσης might imply that the contract already exists.

34 The same man acts as amanuensis in II 269 17 (A.D. 57).

37-8 Cephalas signs in the spindly capitals typical of the βραδέως γράφων, see most recently *ZPE* 40 (1980) 157-9.

3488. LEASE OF LAND

26 3B. 51/B (1-2)a

10 × 27.5 cm.

A.D. 70

It is especially for comparison with **3489**, a lease of only two years later also relating to land in the Oxyrhynchite nome leased to a villager of the Cynopolite for a two-year period, that this item has been included.

There are two parcels of land in **3488**, which makes the arrangements for rent and rotation of crops seem complicated, but the main evidence of the two documents can be set out fairly clearly in a table, see below. Amounts in brackets are calculated from the other data on the same line. All these rents are in wheat.

Year	Area	Total rent	Crop	Rent per arura
70/1	10 ar.	7.5 art.	Aracus	(0.75 art.)
	5.125 ar.	20 art.	Wheat	(c. 3.90 art.)
71/2	10 ar.	55 art.	Wheat	(5.5 art.)
	5.125 ar.	10 art.	Aracus	(c. 1.95 art.)
72/3	5 ar.	(11.25 art.)	Aracus	2.25 art.
73/4	5 ar.	(35 art.)	Wheat	7 art.

Elements that cannot be incorporated in the table are the extra rent of $\frac{3}{8}$ art. of loaves in **3489** and the loan of 10 art. of seed wheat returnable with the rents of the second year in **3488**. They seem to do nothing to give regularity to the figures. It is particularly clear from **3488** that the most important factor was the character of the land, and that the calculation of average rents from a comparatively small number of published leases is of use only to paint a very broad picture. I am indebted for discussion of this topic to Jane Rowlandson, whose Oxford D. Phil. thesis on land tenure in the Oxyrhynchite nome will shortly be available.

On the back are traces of ink which may be remains of an endorsement. Nothing is now legible.

This text was studied at a summer school in papyrology held in Princeton in 1966 and much work was done on it by Dr S. S. Foulk, to whom I am indebted for a draft edition.

ἐμίς[θωσεν] Διονύσιος ὃς καὶ Πετσεῖρις
 Σαρα[.....] τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλε-
 ως [.]ι Φιλίσκου τῶν ἀπὸ Πε-
 .ε.[.]ς τοῦ Κυνοπολείτου Πέρ-
 5 ρη τῆς ἐπιγονῆς εἰς ἔτη δύο βροχὰς
 δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνο[ε]τῶτος τρίτου ἔτους
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
 Σεβα[ετ]οῦ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ περὶ

Θμ[οιθ]ῶθ[ι]ν τῆς ἄνο τοπαρχείας
 10 ἕκ μὲν τοῦ Πιθολάου κλήρου ἀρού-
 ρας δέκα ὥστε ἐν [μ]ὲν τῷ ἐνοστῶτι
 ἔτ[ι] ξυλαμῆσαι ταύτας ἀράκῳ ἐκ-
 φορίου [ἀ]ποτάκτου πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν
 ἑπτὰ ἡμίους, ἐν δὲ τῷ εἰσιόντι
 15 ἔτ[ι] π[ι]ρε πυρῶ ἀποτάκτου πυροῦ
 ἀ[ρταβ]ῶν πεντήκοντα πέντε καὶ
] . . . κλήρου ἄλλας ἀρού-
 ρ[ας πέν]τε ὄγδων, τῷ μὲν ἐνε-
 τῶτι ἔτι σπ[ι]ρε ταύτας πυρῶ ἐκφο-
 20 ρίου ἀποτάκτου πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν
 εἴκοσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ εἰσιόντι ἔτι ξυλα-
 μῆσαι ἀράκῳ ἀποτάκτου πυροῦ
 ἀρταβ[ῶ]ν δέκα. ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ὁ με-
 μισθωμένος ἔχει ἄν' παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου
 25 σπερμάτων πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δέκα,
 ἃς ἀποδώσι αὐτῷ ἅμα τοῖς τοῦ εἰσι-
 ὄντος ἔτους ἐκφορίοις, τῆς κατ' ἄτος
 ἀπεργασίας τῶν χωμάτων τῶν
 δέκα ἀρουρῶν καὶ τηρήσεως ὄντων
 30 πρὸς τὸν μεμισθωμένον, ὃς καὶ
 παραδώσει ταῦτα ἀπηγρασμένα
 καὶ ὑγιῆ[ι] τῷ εἰσιόντι ἔτι ἑῖ' ἀποτί-
 νη αὐτὸν τῷ Διονυσίῳ τὰς ἐς-
 ταμένας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς
 35 ὄγδοήκοντα. ἀκίνδυνα δὲ πάντα
 παντὸς κινδ[ύ]νου, τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς
 δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς τὸν Διονύσιον,
 ὃν ἄκ[αί] κυριεύειν τῶν κατ' ἄτες καρπῶν
 <ἔ>ως {ε}ἂν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομ[ί]σητε. τῆς δὲ
 40 μισθώσεως βεβαιουμένης ἀπο-
 δώτω ὁ μεμισθωμένος τῷ Διονυσίῳ
 τὰ κατ' ἔτ[ο]ς ἐκφόρια εἰ τῷ Παν-
 νί μηνί, ἅμα δὲ τοῖς τοῦ εἰσιόν-

45 τος ἔτους καὶ τὰ σπέρματα,
 ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Νίγρου ἐποί-
 κα ἄλω ποιρὸν νέον καθα-
 ρ[ὸ]ν ἄδυλ[ο]ν ἄκρι[θο]ν μέτρο
 τετρακυ[ν]ίνκρ[ο] .[.].σηριωσ
 εἰ ἀποτίσσει τεμῆν ἐκάστης
 50 ἀρτάβης ἧς ἂν μὴ ἀποδῶ
 χ(αλκοῦ) (δραχμὰς) . . κα[ὶ ἢ] πρᾶξις ἔστω
 Διον[υσίω ἔκ] τε τοῦ [μεμις-
 θωμ[ένου καὶ] ξ[κ

1 l. Πετσίρις 4 l. Κυνοπολίτου 5 l. δύο 6 l. δύο, ἐνεστῶτος 9 l. ἄνω τοπαρχίας
 10 l. Πειθολάου 11 l. ἐνεστῶτι 12 l. ἔτει 15 l. ἔτει σπείραι 18 l. ὄγδοον 19 l. ἔτει
 σπείραι 21 l. ἔτει 26 l. ἀποδώσει 27 l. κατ' ἔτος 31 l. ἀπειργασμένα 32-3 l. ἔτει ἢ ἀπο-
 τίνειν 38 l. κατ' ἔτος 39 l. κομίσεται 40-1 l. ἀποδότω 42 εἰ: l. αἰεί (or αἰεί?) 45-6 l.
 ἐποίκιον 46 l. ἄλων (or ἀλώνων) πυρὸν 47 l. ἄδολον, μέτρο 48 l. τετραχοϊκῶ 49 l. ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι
 τιμῆν

'Dionysius alias Petsiris son of Sara . . . from the city of the Oxyrhynchi leased to . . . son of Philiscus from Pe . . . in the Cynopolite nome, Persian of the succession, for two years, two inundations, from the present third year of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus the aruras which belong to him near the village of Thmoethothis(?) in the Upper toparchy, first from the allotment of Peitholaus ten aruras, so as to plant these with aracus in the present year at a fixed rent of seven and a half artabas of wheat, and in the coming year to sow with wheat at a fixed rent of fifty-five artabas of wheat, and from the allotment of . . . another five and one-eighth aruras, so as to sow these with wheat in the present year at a fixed rent of twenty artabas of wheat, and in the coming year to plant with aracus at a fixed rent of ten artabas of wheat. The lessee acknowledges that he has received from Dionysius ten artabas of wheat for seed, which he will return to him together with the rents of the coming year, the annual work and guard duty on the embankments of the ten aruras being the responsibility of the lessee, who shall also hand them over with the work finished and in sound condition in the coming year or he shall pay to Dionysius the agreed sum of eighty drachmas of silver; all to be free of all risk, the state taxes on the land being the responsibility of Dionysius, who shall also own the annual crops until he receives what is his own. If the lease is confirmed the lessee shall deliver to Dionysius the annual rents always in the month of Payni, and along with those of the coming year the wheat seed also, at the threshing floors of the hamlet of Nigrus, in wheat that is new, clean, unadulterated, and free of barley, by the four-choenix measure of Thoeris(?), or shall pay as the price of every artaba which he does not deliver four(?) thousand drachmas of bronze. And the right of exaction shall lie with Dionysius both upon the lessee and upon (all his property) . . . '

3 4[ιογέν]ει, for example, might suit, but the first letter might be alpha as well as delta, and the penultimate letter is represented only by the end of a horizontal which could be from γ, θ, or τ also.

3-4 Πε. ε. [. . .] .[. . .]c. The village in 9 could very well be Thmoethothis, as in 3489 9, and perhaps in IV 794. Therefore we should look for Peretnuis here, as in 3489 3, see n., but the remains do not suit. Περρετ[] would be tolerable, but the isolated remains of the middle of the name suggest] .μ[and the whole is too long. Of course a variant spelling or a mistake is always possible.

9 Θμ[οιθ]ῶθ[ι]ν, while not absolutely certain, suits very well, see 3-4 n.

10 Π(ε)ιθολάου is not in the list of clerus names in *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 159-244.

17] . . . κλήρου. We expect a second clerus name, see 10 ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Π(ε)ιθολάου κλήρου, although

space seems very short for ἐκ τοῦ plus a third declension masculine name in the genitive. A possibility is ἐκ τοῦ] ἀϛ[τ]ϙϛ κ., but space is short for the tau, the final trace seems more likely to be sigma, and μέν is then less apposite than it should be.

25-7 It is an oddity that the lessee received ten artabas of seed wheat when he has only $5\frac{1}{8}$ arouras of land to sow in the first year, the usual seed ratio being one artaba per arura, see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 125-6. No doubt it made sense, but we can only make guesses at the circumstances.

27-35 This is a very elaborate clause compared with 3489 17-20 τῆς κατ' ἔτος ὑδροφυλακίας οὔσης τῶν ἀρουρῶν πρὸς τὸν μεμιθωμένον. There may have been special difficulties over the irrigation of this land or, as Jane Rowlandson points out, this landlord may have been specially careful or even been worried by some unpleasant experience. The sense remains broadly the same. Note that the smaller parcel of land is not covered by any similar clause.

42 ἐί = αεί, but it is the direct phonetic equivalent of αεί, which does occur in a few instances in the papyri, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 196. The diaeresis consists of a dot at mid-level on either side of iota, not the usual two dots above. Cf. CPR v 13 introd. for Latin examples of A.D. 395-6. My impression now is that this form is more common than I then realized.

45-6 ἐπὶ τῶν... ἄλων or ἀλώνων. Cf. P. Lond. III 976. 7 (p. 231), and for their plurality and extent see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 171 and P. Tebt. I 84. 8 n.

47-8 μέτρο (= -ω)... [..], σήριως (read -ιος?). This may be a private measure, or there is a possibility that we should read τετρακ[υ]τ[ε]τρ[ε]κ[υ] Τσήριως = τετραχονίκω Θσήριος, and take this as a temple measure, see D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen*, 13-21, and especially the measure of Sarapis in P. Princ. III 147. The remains of the letter taken as tau are the foot of an upright and the right-hand part of a very long crossbar. If the crossbar extended as far to the left no letter need be wholly lost.

51 The damaged figure is possibly 4 = 4,000. A similar penalty clause of A.D. 68 sets the price at 6,000 bronze drachmas per artaba: XLVII 3352. The conversion rate of bronze to silver in a document of A.D. 79 is stated to be 450:1 (II 243 42). At this rate 6,000 dr. in bronze equal 13 dr. 2 ob. silver; 4,000 does not convert so easily, but gives $8\frac{8}{9}$ dr., which could perhaps be rounded up to 9 dr. For bronze currency in general see XXXVIII p. 50.

3489. LEASE OF LAND

42 5B. 78/J (15-16)a

10 x 18 cm.

A.D. 72

A land lease of the private protocol type commonly used at Oxyrhynchus. On the lease in general see S. Waszyński, *Die Bodenpacht* (Leipzig, 1905); A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* (Baltimore, 1936), 74-145; J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* (Munich, 1958); D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* (Munich, 1967).

An outline of the form of the private protocol lease is given in P. Yale I 70 introd., together with a list of examples from Oxyrhynchus corresponding to the pattern. I have noted the following addenda:

30 October 4 B.C.	P. Mich. inv. 1427 (ed. J. C. Shelton, <i>TAPA</i> 101 (1970) 489-96)
February/March A.D. 68	XLVII 3352
A.D. 70	XLIX 3488
A.D. 87/8	P. Princ. III 147 = SB x 10532
16 October A.D. 108	XXXVIII 2874
A.D. 119	XXXVI 2776
15 August A.D. 127	<i>Le monde grec</i> (Hommages Préaux) 601-8
Before A.D. 161	P. Strasb. IV 1/2 534

9 September A.D. 162	XLI 2974
A.D. 172/3	III 593 descr. (ed. T. T. Renner, <i>BASP</i> 7 (1970) 23-7)
Second century	P. Palau Rib. inv. 150 (<i>Stud. Pap.</i> 15 (1976) 126)
25 October A.D. 205	SB x 10263
A.D. 250	XXXVI 2795
A.D. 259/60	P. Wisc. 17
A.D. 282	P. Mich. XI 610
Third/fourth century	SB x 10216

The back of the lease carries the name of the landowner, who is the wife of the lessor, and of the lessee, written along the fibres.

ἐμίσθωσεν Θέων Θέωνος τοῦ Θέωνος τῶν ἀπὸ
 Ὀξυ]ρύγχων πόλεως Ἰόλλα Πνεφερώτος
 τοῦ Ἰόλλου τῶν ἀπὸ κώ]μ]ης Περεινούεως
 τοῦ [Κ]υνοπολείτου Πέρση τῆς ἐπιγονῆς εἰς
 5 ἕ]τ]η δύο βροχὰς δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 πέμπτου ἔτους Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Οὐρσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας τῇ
 γυ]ν]αικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀπολλωνοῦτι Ζαραπίω-
 νος περὶ Θμοιθῶθιν τῆς ἄνω τοπαρχίας
 10 ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν ἐν]ε]α ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρου[
 ἀρούρα[
 π]έντε ὥστε ταύτ[
 α]ς τῷ μὲν ἐνεστῶ-
 τι ἔτει ξυλαμῆσαι ἀρά[
 κω, ἐκ]φορίου ἐκάστης
 ἀρούρης ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτ[
 ά]βας δύο τέταρτον,
 τῷ δὲ εἰσιόντι ἔτει σπε[
 ἱ]ραι] πυρῶ, ἐκφορίου
 15 ἐκάστης ἀρούρης ἀ[
 νὰ πυρο]ῦ [ἀ]ρτάβας ἐπτά.
 δῶσει δὲ ὁ μεμισθωμένος τῷ Θέωνι κατ' ἔτος
 ἄρτων ἀ[
 ρ]τάβης τέταρτον ὄγδοον, τῆς κα-
 τ' ἔτος ὑδροφυλακίας οὔσης τῶν ἀρουρῶν
 πρὸς τὸν μεμισθωμένον, ἀκί]ν]δ]υ]να τὰ κα-
 20 τ' ἔτος ἐκ[
 φό]ρια παντὸς κινδύνου. ἐὰν δὲ τις
 τῷ εἰσιόντι ἔτει ἄβροχος γένηται, παραδε-
 χθήσεται τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ τὸ ταύτης
 ἐκφόριον· ἐὰν δὲ τι πραχθῇ ὁ μεμισθωμέ-
 νος εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἢ εἰς ἄλλο τι ὑπὲρ Θέω-
 25 νος ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ τῆς γῆς, ὑπολογεῖται ἀπὸ

τῶν ἐκφορίων, τῶν [δ]ὲ κατ' ἔτος καρπῶν
 κυριευέτω Θεών ἕως τὰ ἐκφόρια κομίσηται.
 τῆς δὲ μισθώσεως βεβαιουμένης, ἀποδότω
 ὁ μεμισθωμένος τῷ Θεῶνι τὰ κατ' ἔτος ἐκ-
 30 φόρια ἀεὶ τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ ἐφ' ἄλλω περὶ τὸ Ἀρχι-
 βίου ἐποίκιον πυρὸν νέον, καθαρὸν, ἄδολον,
].ον, μέτρῳ τετρ[αχ]ρινίκῳ Σαραπίωνος . .
].[., ἀ]ποτεισάτω αὐτῷ ἐκά-

Back, upwards:

ε (ἔτους) μίς(θωσις) Ἀπολλωνοῦ(τος) πρ(ὸς?) Ἰόλλαν

'Theon, son of Theon, grandson of Theon, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, has leased to Iollas, son of Pnepheros, grandson of Iollas, from the village of Peretnui in the Cynopolite nome, a Persian of the succession, for two years, two inundations, from the present fifth year of Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Augustus the five aruras belonging to his wife Apollonous, daughter of Sarapion, near Thmoethothis in the Upper toparchy, from the nine aruras in the northern sector, to plant these in the present year with aracus at a rent of 2½ artabas of wheat per arura, and in the coming year to sow them with wheat at a rent of 7 artabas of wheat per arura. The lessee will give to Theon annually three-eighths of an artaba of bread. The annual rents to be free from every risk, the annual water-guarding of the aruras being the responsibility of the lessee. If there is any land unflooded in the coming year the rent of this will be credited to the lessee. If the lessee is required to pay anything towards the public charges or towards anything else on behalf of Theon or his wife or the land, let him deduct it from the rents, and let Theon be owner of the annual crops until he receives the rents. The lease being guaranteed, let the lessee pay the annual rents to Theon every year in the month of Payni at the threshing floor at the steading of Archibius in wheat that is new, clean, unadulterated, and . . . , by the four-choenix measure of Sarapion . . . let him pay over to him for each [artaba . . .]

'5th year; lease of Apollonous to Iollas.'

1 A Theon son of Theon is also the lessor in P. Strasb. IV 1/2 534, but the name is so common that it would be unwise to identify them.

3 Περετνούεως. This village name has appeared before but has been surrounded by difficulties which have kept it out of the lexica. In CPR VII 52, a business letter containing many difficulties of reading and interpretation, one clause appears to read (5-6, from the plate, Taf. 37) ἐπὶ οἱ Περετνούται λυπῶσιν τὰ[ς] ἀγκάλας ἡμῶν (read ἐπεὶ, λυποῦσιν, ἀγκάλας), 'since the inhabitants of Peretnui are damaging our sheaves'. Oxyrhynchus seems a more likely provenance for this text than anywhere in the Cynopolite nome. A photograph of VIII 1052 26 allows the possibility of reading Περετνούεως in place of Περεινούεως. Surprisingly a photograph of P. Hamb. I 17 shows that the reading of the first edition Περεπνούεως in ii 4 (cf. 14: restored) is fully justified. That document comes from the Arsinoite nome and we may perhaps guess that the scribe who wrote it was not familiar with the Cynopolite village name. The place called Φερετνοῦσις (XVI 1937 7) is probably the same, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, 191-2. In *MPER* 6 (1897) 98 and *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 31 (1978) 353 Φερεγ(νοῦσι) should probably be corrected to Φερετνοῦσις. Cf. also 3488 3-4 n.

7-8 The property belongs to Apollonous but is leased out on her behalf by her husband acting as her replacement, cf. XXXVI 2776, *Stud. Pap.* 15 (1976) 126-9, see L. Wenger, *Stellvertretung*, 173-85, 249-55; cf. P. Wisc. I 7, in which a father leases his daughter's property without its being specified whether he is acting as guardian or deputy.

8 Ἀπολλωνοῦτι. The last two letters have been added on a much larger scale in a space at first left

blank which would have taken about five normal letters. Probably there was some doubt about the wife's name in the mind of the clerk.

9 Θμοιθῶθιν. Otherwise new, it is probably to be read also in 3488 9 (Θμ[οιθ]ῶθ[ι]ν, see note). In IV 794 (description) a photograph shows that Θμ[οι]θῶθιν (20-21) is a possibility.

13 The rent charged here on the crop of aracus, 2¼ artabas of wheat per arura, is slightly more than the usual rent for land under a fallow crop: 2 artabas in PSI ix 1029; XVIII 2188, XXII 2351. However, the rent for the following year, when the land will be under wheat, is slightly less than the average for this period, which is 7¾ artabas per arura: A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 81.

17 ἄρτωϛ. The crossbar and part of the vertical of tau are clear, as is the top part of the omega. The payment of a small bonus, either as a religious offering (θάλλος) or as a gratuity to the landlord (σπονδή), is provided for in several leases, see *Symb. Oslo*. 17 (1937) 26-48, Herrmann, op. cit. 115-18; cf. *Studi E. Volterra* III, 135-42. The small amount mentioned here (⅓ of an artaba) suggests that this is something of the same sort, though not designated as such. For payments of this kind cf. P. Ryl. II 167. 17-18, SB x 10535. 12, and XIV 1744, in which, most unusually, the rents are calculated in terms of loaves. Thirty loaves were reckoned the usual equivalent of an artaba of wheat, see XII 1454 6 n.

20-6 For clauses giving a degree of security to the lessee see Herrmann, op. cit. 161-3. A list of Oxyrhynchite leases with the ἄβροχος clause is given in *BASP* 7 (1970) 24 n. 5.

30-1 The steading of Archibius is listed as being in the Upper toparchy in X 1285 64.

32ον. We expect ἄβωλον or ἄκριθον, cf. Herrmann, op. cit. 105-6, Hennig, op. cit. 11-12. The trace looks most like the top half of a vertical, which suits neither. Perhaps ἄβω[λ]ον was written, with an unusually upright lambda.

On private measures see Herrmann, op. cit. 103-5, Hennig, op. cit. 13-21. This Sarapion is perhaps to be identified with the lessor's father-in-law, see 8.

33] . . . [. The second of these traces is part of a rounded letter, possibly omicron, the third the top of a vertical.

ἄ]ποτειάτω κτλ. This is part of a penalty clause in case of failure to pay the rent in full. Cf. Herrmann, op. cit. 145-7. Restore e.g. ἡ ἄ]ποτειάτω αὐτῷ ἐκά[σ]της ἀρτάβης ἧς ἂν μὴ ἀποδῶ, followed by a price.

34 The symbol interpreted as μίς(θωσις?) is a cross with a sigma in the right-hand upper quadrant. The horizontal is taken to be a vestigial mu and the upright an iota. The symbol interpreted as πρ(ός?) is a cross with the top of the upright drooping over to the right. The horizontal is taken to be vestigial pi and the upright with the drooping head to be a version of rho.

3490. LOAN OF MONEY

22 3B. 14/G (7-10)d

8.2 × 8.7 cm.

A.D. 140/1

This fragment of a loan contract, in which no interest was stipulated, follows in all essentials the formula of XLVII 3351, a document more than one hundred years older. See 3351 introd. for bibliography and a short description of the type. The back is blank.

Ἀμόϊς Πομπηί[ο]ν τοῦ Πομπηίου [μητρὸς
 Ἀρσείτος Διο]ς ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων [πόλεως
 Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγ[ονῆς] Θέωνι Θέω[νος τοῦ
 Πανεχῶτου μη[τρὸς]ς Ἀπίας ἀπὸ τῆ[ς αὐτῆς
 5 π]όλεως χαίρειν. [ὁμολ]ογῶ ἔχειν πα[ρὰ σοῦ
 διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀ[ργ]υρίου Σεβαστοῦ [νομίς-
 ματος δραχμὰς διακοσίας, γείνοντ[αι δραχμαὶ

διακόσαι, κεφαλ[αί]ου αἰς οὐδὲν προσ[ῆ]κται,
 ἄς καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι τῇ τριακάδ[ι] τοῦ .[. . . .
 10 τοῦ ἐνεστῶ[τ]ος [τ]ετάρτου ἔτους Ἀντων[νίνου]
 Καίσαρο[ς] τοῦ κυρίου] χωρὶς ὑπερθέσε[ως. ἐὰν δὲ
 μὴ [ἀποδῶ καθὰ γέγραπται, τὸ] μὲν προ[κείμενον

1 πομπη[ί]ου, πομπηῖου 7 1. γίνονται 11 ὑπερθέσε[ως]

'Amois son of Pompeius grandson of Pompeius, mother Harseis daughter of Dio. . . , of Oxyrhynchus, Persian of the succession, to Theon son of Theon grandson of Panechotes, mother Apia, of the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you by hand from your house in imperial silver coin the capital sum of two hundred drachmas, total two hundred drachmas, to which sum nothing has been added, which I shall also repay you on the thirtieth of. . . of the present fourth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord without delay. If I do not repay in accordance with the contract, I shall pay to you the aforementioned (capital). . .'

3 ἐπιγ[ονῆς]. The pi is not clearly written. There are remains above it and the following iota which could be from a formal pi replacing the unsatisfactory one below.

9 The initial letter of the lost month name was rounded. Only Choeac and Tybi are certainly excluded, though mu for Mecheir and Mesore is not very likely. All we can say about the terms of the loan is that it was for less than one year, see 10.

3491. MARRIAGE CONTRACT

45 5B. 58/J (6)a

Fr. 1 40 × 18 cm.

A.D. 157/8

The document is written on the back of a now very fragmentary account of land and grain, but along the fibres so that the two texts run at right angles to each other. A sheet join which runs horizontally between lines 13 and 14 here proves that the other side was the interior of the roll, which was a tall one 40 cm. in height. There is also a sheet join in fr. 4, which shows part of the lower edge with a blank margin of c. 7 cm., and a short last line which appears to give the end of the text. It is not possible to estimate how much is lost between fr. 4 and fr. 1.

Of the ten lines of which the beginnings are preserved at least seven are preceded in the left margin by a check mark in the form of a large clumsily made dot. Presumably the terms of the agreement and the figures were carefully checked. At first sight our document looks as if it were written by two different scribes, and the writing certainly changes towards the end of line 5. It looks as if the broad pen point with which the first section was written began to give trouble here, whereupon the scribe sharpened the pen or changed it for one with a thinner point and at the same time abandoned the first style of writing, which is comparatively formal, for a more rapid and comfortable style. This careless copy of the document may be a draft, see the additions in lines 6, 13 and 15, or perhaps only a rough copy of the definitive version.

In the document, which according to 4 is a διὰ δημοσίου συγγραφή, Chaeremonis

is given by her parents in marriage to Dionysapollodorus, with whom she has already lived from the twelfth to the twenty-first year of Antoninus Pius, that is, from A.D. 148/9 to A.D. 157/8, and by whom she has had several children. It is stated that the couple have hitherto lived together *κατὰ χειρόγραφον συγγραφὴν*, which they have cancelled, cf. XII 1473. The dowry, the paraphernalia, and some testamentary dispositions were specified in the earlier document, but it is possible that the property mentioned in 15–17 was given through the present document for the first time, and that this change was the reason for drawing up a new contract. For a bibliography on marriage contracts see O. Montevecchi, *Papirologia*, 203–5. Add especially J. Modrzejewski, ‘La structure juridique du mariage grec’, in *Scritti Montevecchi*, 231–68.

Fr. 1

ἔξέδοντο Ἑρακλεῖδ[ί]δ(ης) Ζεῶτ(ος) τοῦ Ἑρακλείδ(ου)
μητρ(ρὸς) Ταωνώφρι(ος) καὶ ἡ γ(υνή) Διονυσία Ἀρποκρατίω(νος)
τοῦ Ἑρακλείδ(ου) μητρ(ρὸς) Μασσαλείνης ἀμφότη(ροι)
ἀπ’ Ὀξ(υρύχων) πόλ(εως), [ἡ Διονυσία] μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδ(ρὸς)
Ἑρακλείδ(ου), τὴν ἀμφοτέρων θυγατέρα Χαιρη[μο]υ[ί]δ(α)
Διονυσαπολλοδώρω Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Χρησίμ(ου) Διονυσίου
ἀπὸ τ(ῆς) α(ὐτῆς) πόλ(εως) [μητρ(ρὸς) 10–15 letters Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ
Ἰέρακ(ος) ἀστ(ῆς) ᾧ προσύνεστιν κατὰ [χρηματικ] χειρόγραφον
συγγραφὴν γεγонуῖαν τῷ ιβ (ἔτει)
Ἀντωνίνου [Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ἦν] ἀνέδοσαν ἀλλήλο(ις) εἰς ἀκύρωσιν
ἀρκούμενοι τῆδε τῆ δια δημοσίου συγγραφῆ ἐν ἀγυιᾷ [
5 γ(υναῖκα) γαμετήν, ἐφ’ ἣ ἔσχ[η(κεν)]? ὁ γαμῶν ἄμα τῆ συνελε(ύσει) παρὰ
μὲν τοῦ πατ(ρὸς) Ἑρακλείδ(ου) ἐν φερνῆ ἀργ(υρίου) (τάλαντον) \bar{a} καὶ
χεροψέλι(ον) καὶ . . . φ[. . .
ἀμφότη(ρα) χρ(υσοῦ) σταθμῶ Ὀξ(υρυγίτη) μναιαίων $\bar{\beta}$ ἐν συντειμήσει
(δραχμῶν) $\bar{\chi}$ καὶ ἰμάτια ἐν συντειμήσει (δραχμῶν) τ’, γείνονται ἐπὶ
τὸ α(ὐτὸ) τῆς φερνῆς (τάλαντον) \bar{a} καὶ (δραχμαὶ) [ω] λ κεφα(λαίου),
αἷς οὐδὲν προσῆκται, παρὰ δὲ τῆς μητρ(ρὸς)
Διονυσίας ἐν παραφέρνοις ἐνωτίων χρ(υσῶν) ζε(ύγος) (τετάρτης) α * , καὶ
πάλλιον χρωμάτ(ινον), κασσιτέρου ἐνεργ(οῦ) ὄλκ(ῆς) μνᾶς ιε, ζώδιον
Ἀφροδίτης, στάμνον, κάτοπτρον δίπτυχ(ον) κασιω[τικόν],
διφρ[c. 20].[. . .] μυροθήκ(ην) ξυλίνη[ν c. 10]
. . . μ() δίφρο[ν] ὑς γυναικείους .[. . .] . . . αρτ() δὲ τὰ γενόμενα τοῖς
γαμο(ύσιν) ἐξ ἀλλή(λων) τέκνα Ἀθην.[
. . .[. . .] καὶ Διον() καὶ . . .[. . .] καὶ Η (vac.) οἱ δ’ α(ὐτοὶ) τῆς

- γαμο(υμένης) γονεῖς Ἡρακλείδ(ης) καὶ Διον(υσία) [. . .] προσμερίζει
μετὰ τὴν ἑα(υτῶν) τελευταίην τῇ θυγ(ατρὶ) Χαιρημονίδι,
10 ἔαν ζῆ, εἰ δὲ μή, τοῖς οὖσι καὶ ἐπεσομ(ένοις) α(ὕτῃ) ἐκ τοῦ γαμοῦντ(ος)
τέκνοις, ὁ μὲν πατήρ Ἡρακλ(είδης) (vac.) τὰς ὑπαρχο(ύσας) α(ὕτῳ) περὶ
μὲν ζενεψα`ὕ' ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσοδώρου
[.] [.] . . . [.] N]ετρῶ ἐκ τοῦ Φίλωνος
κλή(ρου) (ἄρουραν) α (ἦμισυ), καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βακχυλ() καὶ Κ[α]ράβου
(ἀρούρης) (ἦμισυ) (τέταρτον) (ὄγδοον)', [ἡ δὲ] μήτ(ηρ) Διον(υσία) τὴν
ὑπάρχο(υσαν) αὕτῃ ἐν κ[. . .
[c. 35-40] ἔξει δὲ ὁ γαμ(ῶν) ἐφ' ὅσον
cύνεστ(ιν) τῇ γαμο(υμένη), ὡς καὶ προέσχ(ε), εἰ[ς] τὴν κοινὴν βιοτείαν
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) κα (ἔτους) τὴν κ[. . .
[c. 35-40] . () τῇ γαμουμ(ένη) ὑπὸ τοῦ
πατ(ρός) (ἀρουρών) ε (ὄγδού)', καὶ `τὴν' ἐνοίκ(ησιν) `καὶ ἐνοίκ(ια)'
τῆς μερικθ(είσης) αὕτῃ ὑπὸ τῆς μητ(ρός) οἰκίας καὶ αἰθρίου `καὶ τοὺς
προς. . . . () α(ὕτ-) τόκ(ους) τοὺς ἐν ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαῖς) . . .',
οὐκ ἐξόντος τοῖς γαμο(ύσιν)
[οὐδὲ] ἂ ἐμέρισαν ὡς πρόκ[εῖται ὑπ]οτίθεσθ(αι) οὐδ' ἐτέροις μερίζειν οὐδ'
ἄλλ(ως) κατα[χρη]ματίζειν οὐδὲ ἀφαιρεῖσθ(αι) τὴν καρπε(ίαν) καὶ
ἐνοίκη(σιν) καὶ ἐνοίκια.
(vac.)
15 [c. 30] . ης συνγρ(αφῆς) τὰ ὑπάρχοντα α(ὕτ) ἐν
μὲν Ὁξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(ει) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Λυκίων Παρεμβολ(ῆς)
` ' οἰκίαν καὶ αὕλ(ην) καὶ χρηστήρια, περὶ δὲ
[c. 30] καὶ ἀμπελικὸν κτῆμα, ὅσων ἔαν ἦν
(ἀρουρών), καὶ τὰ τούτου ὑδρε(ύματα) καὶ χρηστήρια καὶ ἐποίκ(ιον)
καὶ ἡλιαστήριον, οὐκ ἐ-
[ξόντος c. 20 κα]ταχρηματίζεῖν χωρὶς εὐδοκῆ(σεως) τῆς
γαμο(υμένης). συνβ[ι]ούτωςαν ἀλλήλ(οις) ἀμέμπτως οἱ γαμοῦντ(ες)
καὶ χορηγείτω ὁ γ[α]μ(ῶν)
[τῇ γαμουμ(ένη)] καὶ τοῖς [ἐ]ξ [ἀλλήλ(ων) τέκνοις τὰ δέο]ντα κατὰ
δύναμ(ιν). ἔαν δὲ διαζυγῶσιν ἀλλήλ(ων) οἱ γαμοῦντ(ες) οὐκ ὄντ(ων)
αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀλλήλ(ων) τέκνων ἀποδό[τ]ω [ὁ] γαμ(ῶν) τ[ὰ
[μὲν παράφ]ερνα παραχρῆ(μα), οἷα ἔαν ἦν, μηδεμιᾶς πρ[ὸ]ς αὐτὸν

τρεῖψε(ως) μηδὲ ἀπο(υ)σίας ἐνλογουμ(ένης), ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς
 ἱματίων [c. 20

20 [.....] (ταλαντ-) α [ενη] (δραχμ-) ἄ ἐν ἡμέραις ξ̄ ε. [...].
 περὶ ...[.]...[...]. της (vac.) [
 [.....].[.]ωσταθ()[
 [.....] γαμ() ..λ()[.....]. [
 [τὰ παρ]άφερνα ὡς ἐπάνω δεδ[ήλωται
 [.....]. γαμου. [

Fr. 2

.
 25] φερνήν
]. ἱμάτια καὶ χρ(υ)σῶν σὺν τῇ ἐξομ(ένῃ)
].η γαμο() απο() λ.
].τ() ἀποδότω ὁ γαμ(ών) τῇ
] ἐξ ἀλλήλ(ων) τέκνοις

Fr. 3

.
 30]. (ἀρουρ- ?) .. (v.)
]. Παώμει ... (δραχμ- ?) 'καὶ αἰ. [...].
]. αν μετὰ τὴν (vac.) [

Fr. 4

.
]. [...].
 π]αραλημψ. [
 35].μ.η[
]. . . αυτη η τὰ τέκνα δια. [
]. ἐὰν ἡ γαμο(υ)μένη τὰ τέκν[α
]γομ() αὐτῆς πάντα (vac.) [

1 ηρακλειδ[ε]^δ ρεω^τ, ηρακλειδ^δ μη^τ ταοννωφρι^ο, γ̄, αρποκρατι^ω, ηρακλειδ^δ μη^τ, ἀμφο^τ 2 οξ̄ πο^λ, εαυ]^τ αν^δ
 ηρακλειδ^δ, ἀμφο^τ θυγς χαίρη[μο]υ[ι]^δ, χρησι^μ 3 απο^τ ā πο^λ, ιερα^κ ας^τ; 1. συγγραφῆν; ιβλ 4 αλλη^λ,
 ἀρκούμενοι corr. from -ου; 1. συγγραφῆ 5 γ̄, εσχ[η]^τ?, συνελε̄, πα^τ ηρακλειδ^δ, αρ̄γ, χεροψηλι^ο, 1. χειροψέλλιον
 6 ἀμφο^τ χρ̄, οξ̄; 1. συντιμήσει; συντέι^μ; 1. συντιμήσει; 1. γίνονται; ā, φ^ε κεφā 7 διοῦ, χρ̄ ζε̄, χρωμα^τ, ενερ^γ
 ολ^κ, αφρο^δ, διπτν^κ 8 μυροθη^κ,]^μ,]...αρ^τ, γεν^μ, γαμ^ο, αλλ^η 9 διοῦ, οιδā, γαμ^ο, ηρακλειδ^δ, διοῦ;
 1. προσμερίζουσι; εā, θυγς 10 επεσ^δ ā, γαμουν^τ, ηρακ^λ, υπαρχ^ο ā 11 κλ^η, βακχ^υ, μη^τ διοῦ, υπαρχ^ο
 12 γα^μ, συνε^τ, γαμ^ο, προε^κ, ενε^τ καL 13] τη γαμοῦ^μ, πα^τ, ενοι^κ, μερι^θ, μη^τ, προσ...q̄ ā το^κ,
 αρ̄γ, γαμ^ο 14 υπ]οτιθε^θ, ουδα^λ, αφαιρει^θ, καρπ^ε, ενοι^κ 15 συνγρς; 1. συγγρ(αφής), ā οξ̄ πο^λ, ἀμφο^δ,
 παρεμβ^ο, αυ^λ 16 υδρε̄, εποι^κ 17 ευδοκ^η, γαμ^ο, αλλ^η, γαμουν^τ, γ[α]^μ 18 δυν^α, αλλ^η, γαμουν^τ, ον^τ,
 ἀλλ^η, γα^μ 19 παραχρ^η, τρειψ^ε; 1. τρίψε(ως); απ^ο ενλογοῦ^μ 20 λ corr. from ω 21 στα^θ
 22 γα^μ ..^λ 26 χρ̄, εσ^δ 27 γαμ^ο απ^ο 28]...^τ, γα^μ 29 αλλ^η 37 γαμ^ο 38]γ^ο

‘Heracleides son of Seos grandson of Heracleides, his mother being Taonnophris, and his wife Dionysia daughter of Harpocraton granddaughter of Heracleides, her mother being Massalina, both from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, Dionysia having with her as guardian her husband Heracleides, have given their daughter by each other, Chaeremonis, as wedded wife to Dionysapollodorus son of Dionysius alias Chresimus grandson of Dionysius, from the same city, his mother being... , an Alexandrian, daughter of Apollonius granddaughter of Hierax, with whom she (Chaeremonis) has been living previously in accordance with a handwritten contract concluded in the twelfth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, which contract they have given up to each other for cancellation contenting themselves with this public contract, executed in the street. With her the bridegroom has received at the time of their coming together, first, from the father Heracleides as dowry, one talent of money and an armlet and a... , both of gold, of two mnaeia by the Oxyrhynchite standard, valued at six hundred drachmas, and clothing valued at three hundred drachmas, as principal, to which no addition has been made, and second, from the mother Dionysia as paraphernalia, a pair of golden ear-rings of one quarter of a mnaeion, a dyed cloak, fifteen minas by weight of wrought tin, a statuette of Aphrodite, a jar, an inlaid(?) mirror of two leaves, chair(s?)... , a wooden unguent-box, ... , ... women’s chairs. ... the children born to the couple by each other Athen... and Dion... and ... and ...

After their death the said parents of the bride, Heracleides and Dionysia, apportion to their daughter Chaeremonis, if she is alive, if she is not, to her existing and future children by the groom, first, from the father Heracleides, the (so many) aruras that belong to him at Senepsay of the allotment of Dionysodorus... , and at Netro the one-and-a-half aruras of the allotment of Philon and the seven-eighths of an arura of the allotment of Bacchyl() and Carabus, second, from the mother of Dionysia, the (house) which she owns in the village(?) of... The bridegroom shall have, as long as he lives with the bride, as he had before, for their common livelihood, also from the present twenty-first year, the use of the five-and-one-eighth aruras... (apportioned) to the bride by her father Heracleides, and the right of occupation and the rent of the house apportioned to her by her mother and of the light-well, and the... interest... to the amount of... drachmas of money, the couple having no power to mortgage or apportion to others or in any way dispose of the property which the parents have allotted in the aforesaid manner, or to appropriate the use or the right of occupation or the rent.

(He/she/they also give(s) through the present?) contract the house and courtyard and appurtenances which belong to him/her/them in the city of the Oxyrhynchi in the Lycians’ Camp district... , and at... and a vineyard, of however many aruras it may be, together with the water sources and appurtenances and farmstead and sunning-ground, the bridegroom having no power to... or dispose of (these) without the consent of the bride.

Let the couple live together blamelessly and let the bridegroom supply to the bride and to their children by each other whatever is necessary according to his means. But if the couple should separate from each other and have no children by each other (surviving?), the bridegroom shall restore the paraphernalia at once, in whatever condition they happen to be, without any liability accounted against him for wear or loss, and in the case of the clothing... , ... the one talent and nine hundred drachmas in sixty days...’

1 *Μασσαλείνης*. This spelling is not attested before. *Μασσαλείνα* must be a variant of *Μεσσαλίνα*, which is in *NB* and in D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

2 The name Dionysapollodorus is not attested before. His father, Dionysius alias Chresimus son of Dionysius, must be identical with the person of that name mentioned in III 478 as the father of a woman called Dionysia.

2-4 The width of the gap near the beginnings of the lines corresponds with about 13 letters of line 1 and 12 letters of line 5. The restorations of lines 2 and 4, as printed, seem too long. That in line 4, however, is virtually certain, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 66-72, and that in line 2 is difficult to condense further. Probably, therefore, there was more drastic abbreviation, e.g. *κυρ* in 2 and *καί του κυρ* in 4.

3 According to M. *Gdz.* 72, *χειρόγραφον* and *συγγραφή* are mutually exclusive terms. If *χειρόγραφος* *συγγραφή* is a real legal term and not just a confusion or an error of drafting - cf. the cancellation of the beginning of *χρηματισμός* just before - it may be the official description of the 'private protocol', a type of document best known from Oxyrhynchite examples which includes features of both *χειρόγραφον* and *συγγραφή*; see H. J. Wolff, 'The so-called private protocol', in *Proc. XIV Int. Congr. Papyrol.* 349-54, especially 354, note 13, for references to Oxyrhynchite marriage contracts in this form; add 3500.

5 One talent, nine hundred drachmas seems a very large sum. Compare G. Häge, *Ehegüterrechtliche Verhältnisse*, 230-2, where about twenty known sums are listed.

6 It is interesting that both weight and value of the gold are given here, contrast A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 425. In the present case the money value of one mnaeion of gold is 300 dr. Cf. CPR I 12 (A.D. 93) (1 mn. = 288 dr.); III 496 (A.D. 127) (1 mn. = c. 309 dr.); BGU IV 1065 (A.D. 97) (1 mn. = 352 dr.).

7 The chi with an added vertical descending well below the base line is not understood. The preceding alpha has a long tail which suggests that it is final. The vertical may perhaps be intended to cancel a chi written in error.

κασιτέρου ενεργ(ού). The word *ἐνεργός* usually has an active sense, but in I 84 (= W. *Chr.* 197). 14 *σιδή[ρο]ν ενεργού* was translated as 'wrought iron' and this was accepted by T. Reil, *Beiträge z. Kenntnis d. Gewerbes*, 69, though Preisigke (WB s.v.) took it as 'Eisen, das sich gut verarbeiten lässt'. In 84 the guild of *σιδηροχαλκείς* is supplying the iron for public works in the city. It seems unlikely that it supplied only the material and not also the labour. O. Montevecchi, in *Aeg.* 16 (1936) 44, pointed out that *γυναικεία σκεύη κασιτέρινα*, perhaps 'piccoli oggetti per toilette', are frequently mentioned in the abstracts of marriage contracts from Tebtunis in P. Mich. II, cf. P. Mich. v. 343. 5. This seems to confirm that the weight stated here was made up of various objects; cf. Reil, *Beiträge*, 71, for a short list of vessels known to have been made in tin.

A jar, a mirror, and a statuette of Aphrodite occur also in CPR 27. 10.

κασιω[τικόν]. Casiotic joinery is surprising in an object so small as a mirror; see I 55 6 n. and the boat called a *κασιωτικόν*. An alternative would be to read *καδιω*[], cf. VII 1026 20 *κάδιον γυναικείον*, perhaps a 'beauty-box', but this implies *κάδιω*[ν for *κάδιον*, a type of vulgar spelling which does not occur elsewhere in the document. The ambiguous letter is not damaged.

8 A *δίφρος γυναικείος* is probably what Antyllus ap. Oribasius 10. 9. 2 and Soranus 1. 35 more accurately term *δίφρος μαιωτικός*, 'an obstetric stool'. A plate of an Egyptian example of the New Kingdom is given in A. Andorlini, M. Manfredi, *Atti del I congresso congiunto... di psicoprofilassi ostetrica*, a cura di M. Gerli, Perugia 1981.

8-9 In XII 1473 the couple who are renewing their marriage contract take care to acknowledge the legitimacy of their son. The verb is *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι* (9, 27). Here the word might be a cognate of *μάρτυς*, e.g. *ἐκμαρτ(υροῦσι)*. The subject would be the grandparents of the children, but the situation would be reminiscent of that in 1473.

9 In the second half of the line a new section begins, marked by 2 cm. of blank space. The sense must be that the parents agree to apportion certain property to the couple. There is probably too little room for *ὁμολ(ογοῦσι)* in the narrow break after *Διον(υσία)*. Otherwise one might suggest [*ὁμολ(ογοῦσι)*] *προσμερίζει(ν)*, cf. F. T. Gignac, 'The loss of nasal consonants', in *Akten des XIII. intern. Papyrologenkongresses*, 137-46, esp. 141-2 and 146. Probably *προσμερίζει* is an error for the plural.

10 For village and allotment names see *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 174-5, and the following note.

11 At the beginning the text may have run *ἐν τῷ Μένωνος κλήρου (ἀρούρας) β (ἡμιςυ) (τέταρτον) (ὄγδοον)*, *περὶ δὲ Ν]ετρῶ κτλ.*, though this cannot be confirmed from the meagre traces. For the double allotment

name see PSI XIII 1328. 30. The area is the difference between the total given in line 13 and the sum of the two subtotals given in line 11, i.e. $5\frac{1}{4} - 2\frac{3}{8}(1\frac{1}{2} + \frac{2}{3}) = 2\frac{7}{8}$.

For the village of Netro see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 119.

In *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 204–5 there are five references to allotments of Philo in at least three toparchies, but none is connected with this village and it is not clear how many cleruchs of this name there were.

The other names do not appear in the list. *Βακχύλ(ου)* or *Βακχυλ(ίδου)* would suit. For *Κ[α]ράβου*, which is not, however, certain, cf. XIV 1761 13, XXXI 2585 8.

11–12 Restore apparently $\kappa[\acute{\omega}\mu\eta$ or $\kappa[\acute{\omega}^{12}|\mu\eta$, followed by the name of the village. The village of Paomis is mentioned on a detached scrap, see 31, where it might, but need not, be a reference back to this passage (cf. 16 n.). After that we must have *οἰκίαν* to agree with *τὴν ὑπάρχο(υσαν)*. The wording may have been similar to that in 13, e.g. *οἰκίαν καὶ αἶθριον καὶ τοὺς . . . τόκους κτλ.*

12 *βιοτεία* is so far only attested in Xenophon and Polybius in the sense ‘way of life’. Here the sense must be ‘livelihood’ or ‘maintenance’.

12–13 At the end of 12 restore $\kappa[\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\nu$, cf. 14, perhaps running over into 13.

13 The suprascript addition at the end of the line is imperfectly understood. The interest was probably on unpaid rent from tenants of the house, i.e. restore *α(ὑτοῖς)*, the dative depending on a participle beginning *προσ-*, which appears to have meant ‘accruing’. This word is undamaged, but unread because the writing is rapid and tiny.

15 There is a comparatively wide space between 14 and 15, probably because a new section began here. The real property described in 15–17 was probably called a *προσφορά*, cf. G. Häge, *Ehegüterrechtliche Verhältnisse*, 257–9.

The damaged addition above the line comes before the raised lambda of *Παρεμβολ(ῆς)*, but presumably belongs after that word. It may be a description of the house.

16 At the beginning there must have been a village name to contrast with *ἐν μὲν Ὁξ(υρύγῃων) πόλ(ει)* in 15 as well as a description of property associated with the vineyard which follows. The village of Paomis is mentioned in 31, but the context is very broken, cf. 11–12 n.

ὄσων ἐὰν ἦν (ἀρουρῶν). For *ἦν* as the common equivalent of *ἦ* cf. R. C. Horn, *The Use of the Subjunctive*, 27–30, cf. line 19 here, *οἶα ἐὰν ἦν*.

16–17 Restore *οὐκ ἐξόντος τῷ γαμοῦντι vel sim.* The following formula must have been somewhat like that in 13–14, but rather shorter.

18 *διαζυγῶσιν*. The verb is not recorded in this sense in the papyrological dictionaries, but this appearance of it confirms the correction of *[ἀν]αζυγῆν* in II 266 15 to *[δι]αζυγῆν*, see Sel. Pap. 1 7. 15.

οὐκ ὄντων κτλ. According to 8–9 the couple already had several children. If these words are not a mere error of drafting, they might envisage the early deaths of the children, cf. III 496 13 *τέκνων αὐτοῖς μὴ ὄντων ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἦ καὶ τῶν γενομένων μεταλλαζάντων ἀτέκνων*.

19 *οἶα ἐὰν ἦν*. On *ἦν* for *ἦ* see 16 n.

A clause about wear and loss appears also in X 1273 32–3. On *ἀπουσία* as a technical term in metallurgy see XLIII 3121 7 n. Here its precise meaning is not clear, and it looks as if it merely emphasizes *τρίψις*, cf. our phrase ‘wear and tear’.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἱματίων [c. 20 . Cf. X 1273 29–33, where a choice is offered to the bride’s party between accepting the original money valuation and taking the worn clothes at current valuation plus a money supplement to make up the original sum. Here the space occupied by the clause was much shorter and it must be recalled that the only clothing mentioned among the paraphernalia (*ἐν αὐτοῖς*) was one dyed cloak, to which no valuation was given. The sense to be restored here is therefore quite uncertain.

20 The scribe started to write *ἐν ἡμέραις* too early and cancelled it. Cf. 6 for the correction of ω to

λ.

3492. ACCOUNT

45 5B. 54/G (5-8)a

7.5 × 22.5 cm.

A.D. 161-9

The nature of this account remains obscure, chiefly, it seems, because of the damage to the first line, see 1 n., though it cannot have been of a common type. It stands on the back of 3473, but has no obvious connexion either with the priest who submitted that declaration or with the administrators who might have been expected to receive it.

It is set out in two sections, one beginning at the top of the papyrus, the other some way below the middle. Each entry is accompanied by a figure, which is always either 5 or 10, except for 3 in line 27. The persons in the upper section are listed in the nominative. All except four have check-marks in the margin. In the lower section the entries are in the dative and have no check-marks. Presumably the upper section concerns people liable to contribute, the check-marks indicating that they have done so. The lower part of the list must be of recipients. It is noticeable that several of the people in the first half are of the magistratorial class, while most of those in the second are tradesmen. Line three indicates that the account concerns one year. We might guess that the persons of the first section were members of some association, perhaps simply an association of neighbours, which was served by the tradesmen of the second section and which gave them on account of their services certain annual gifts or allowances. No helpful parallel text has been found.

[γ]ραφή τῶν ἐν . . κ. ὑτω(ν) ()
 . (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων
 Αὐρηλίων Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου.

	✓	Θέων φιλόσοφος	ε
5	✓	υἱῶνός Ἀρποκρ(ατ-) γραμματ-) γυμν(ασι-)	ι
	✓	Ἀμμωνοῦς ἀδελφή Πάννο(ν)	ε
		Πάννος	ι
	✓	Θέων Ἀντιόχου	ι
	✓	Διδυμίων Μεττίο(ν) ἀρχιερε()	ι
10	✓	Ἀπολλώ(νιος) Φιλοστρ(άτου) κοσμη(τ-)	ε
	✓	Θέων [. .] () γυμν(ασιαρχ-) ι, ἀλ(λ-) ι, γί(νονται) κ	
	✓	Διογένης Χαιρήμ(ονος) ` ` γυμν(ασιαρχ-)	ι
	✓	Διον(ύσιος) μητρ(ός) Λογγεινί(ας) γυμν(ασιαρχ-)	ι
		Σαρα(πίων) καὶ Εὐδαίμ(ων) γυμνασι(αρχ-)	ε
15	✓	Διον(ύσιος) Ἀφφῦς	ε

	✓ Ἀμμώνιος μητ(ρὸς) Ταζε()	€
	✓ Ἡρακλείδης(ς) πρ. κτ()	€
	Πανάρης Γερμ(ανού)	ι
	Πτολεμαῖο(ς) μακρός	€
20	✓ Ἀρποκράς Ποπλίου	ι
	(vac.)	
	καὶ ὧν καὶ γὰρ ἀντέπεμψα	
	κουρεῖ € γερδίω ε̄	
	γναφεῖ € βαφεῖ €	
	Εὐτυχ.() ἰατρῶ € Ζωῖλ() ἰατρῶ ι	
25	Νικηφό(ρω) σκευο... () ι	
	Μύρωνι ὀρβι[ο]πώλ(η) €	
	πέπτῃ ε̄ Θρώνει ἡπ[η]τῇ γ̄	
	Δημητρίω πατρὶ Θαῖδο(ς) €	

1 εν...τ ^ω ...λ [?]	2 .L	5 αρποκρς γρς γυμνς	6 παννῶ	9 μεττι ^ο αρχιερε̄
απολλ ^ω φιλοστρς κοσμ ^η	11 [...].5 γυμνς, ᾱ, γι	12 χαιρη ^μ \ γυμνς	13 διοῦ μη ^τ λογγεινις γ ^υ	
14 cara), ευδα ^τ γυμνα ^τ	15 διοῦ	16 μη ^τ ταζε̄	17 ηρακλειδ ^η πρ. κ ^τ	18 γερμς
24 ευτυχ ^η ?, ἰατρω, ζω ^λ	25 νικηφ ^ο σκευο...:	26 ορβι[ο]πώλ	28 θαιδ ^ο	19 πτολεμαιο

'List of those contributing(?)... for the ... th year of the lords emperors Aurelius Antoninus and Aurelius Verus:

Theon, philosopher	5
The grandson of Harpocr() secretary of the gymnasium	10
Ammonous, sister of Pannus	5
Pannus	10
Theon son of Antiochus	10
Didymion son of Mettius, high-priest	10
Apollonius son of Philostratus, (ex-?)cosmetes	5
Theon ... , ex-gymnasiarch 10, plus another 10: total	20
Diogenes son of Chaeremon...ex-gymnasiarch	10
Dionysius, mother Longinia, ex-gymnasiarch	10
Sarapion and Eudaemon, ex-gymnasiarchs	5
Dionysius alias (or son of?) Apphys	5
Ammonius, mother Taseus(?)	5
Heracleides, former owner(?)	5
Panares son of Germanus	10
Big Ptolemy	5
Harpocras son of Publius	10.
And of the goods which I sent in return(?):	
To the shearer (or barber?)	5
To the weaver	5
To the fuller	5
To the dyer	5
To Eutych... , doctor	5

To Zoil(), doctor	10
To Nicephorus, ...	10
To Myron, vetch-seller	5
To the baker (?)	5
To Thoönis, tailor	3
To Demetrius, father of Thais	5.'

1 Either $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega(\nu)$ or $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega(\nu)$ would suit the traces. Nothing better has been thought of. At the end $\zeta\tau\alpha\phi\upsilon\lambda(\)$ is the best solution so far suggested, but none of the letters is completely certain. The final superscript letter should be a lambda or a damaged mu. The phi might also be psi or some abbreviation involving iota. If $\zeta\tau\alpha\phi\upsilon\lambda(\)$ is correct, it is difficult to guess what the unit of measurement was, and what the correct expanded form should be.

2-3 Only a tiny trace remains of the numeral, the bottom of a round letter. Figures from one to nine, or letters from alpha to theta, are historically possible. Gamma and eta are incompatible with what remains. Epsilon is unlikely, considering the angular shape it has in this hand.

The imperial title exactly in this form is not recorded in P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*.

4 Since Philosophus is attested as a name, we should perhaps consider the possibility that it was intended here, but the common noun is likely to be correct, cf. *Aeg.* 59 (1979) 78.

5 Ἀρποκρ(ατίωνος) is the most likely expansion, but cf. Ἀρποκρᾶς in 20.

Since $\gamma\rho(\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma)$ or $\gamma\rho(\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma)$ $\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu(\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon)$ is a possible expansion – see P. Ryl. II 101. 8 – we probably need not consider expanding $\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu(\)$ to $\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu(\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon)$ *vel sim.* Presumably Harpocr() was the person liable to contribute. If the grandson were himself the principal, his name would probably have been given.

6 The presence of a woman in the list excludes consideration of some types of association (cf. introd.), e.g. a gymnasium.

8 The names recall the Alexandrians Theon son of Antiochus in II 261 5-6 (A.D. 55) and Antiochus son of Theon in 3486 8 (A.D. 41/2?). This man might be of the same family.

9 Either $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon(\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma)$ or $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}(\omega\varsigma)$ is possible, but in line 13 $\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu(\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma)$ or $\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu(\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\rho\chi\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\varsigma)$ clearly applies to Dionysius and not to his mother, which encourages us to think that in lines 9, 10, 11 and 12 the titles should be expanded in the nominative rather than the genitive. Otherwise less ambiguous forms would have been written.

The other titles in 10-14 indicate that the high-priesthood in question is the municipal office. The holder was actually in office at the date of this document, for $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau(\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\varsigma)$ cannot be read. On the other hand, five gymnasiarchs are mentioned in 11-14. Some must have been ex-gymnasiarchs, and probably all were, since the forms of the abbreviations do not distinguish them.

In VIII 1113 i 2-4 there appears a person called Didymus alias Didymion ex-high-priest, who might be the same as this man, although 1113 dates from A.D. 203.

10 Ἀπολλώ(νιος) . The other possibilities are much less likely. The same is the case with $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu(\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\iota\omicron\varsigma)$, 13, 15, and Καρα(πίων) , 14.

11-14 The names are all too common to link with any individual in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*.

12 Above the beginning of $\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu(\)$, which is clumsily written or perhaps corrected, is ink which looks like the lower parts of a damaged lambda or chi. No solution to the problem has been suggested.

14 This is the only entry where more than one contributor is named. Nevertheless, it is not very likely that we should emend to $\langle\acute{\omicron}\rangle$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ Εὐδαίμ(ων) .

15 It is doubtful whether we should emend to Ἀπφῦτος or take Ἀπφῦς as an alias.

16 Ταξε(ῦτος) is likeliest.

17 $\pi\rho.\kappa\tau(\)$. If the doubtful letter were lost, $\pi\rho[\acute{\alpha}]\kappa\tau(\omega\rho)$ would be restored without a second thought. The writing – undamaged, but not well formed – looks like $\pi\rho\omega\kappa\tau(\)$. There are no words from this root in the papyrological dictionaries, nor would it suit the context. The only suggestion for a solution is $\pi\rho\omega\kappa\tau(\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\rho) = \pi\rho\omega\kappa\acute{\tau}\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\rho$, 'former owner'. What he might have formerly owned remains unclear.

The raised final letter is clear enough to exclude $\text{Πρώκλ(ου)} = \text{Πρόκλου}$.

19 $\mu\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. It is hard to distinguish here between a description and a nickname. Also possible is Μάκρος , in which case we would have the same problem as in 15, see n.

21 In the documents ἀντιπέμνω usually means 'send back in reply', or simply 'return (something to somebody)'. The fact that the following entries contain so many trade names suggests that it might be translated 'send in repayment' (LSJ s.v. 1. 3). However, 'distribute' or 'pass on' would suit the present understanding of the text better.

22 Possibly the κουρεύς is not a barber, but a shearer of sheep, as we would thus have four stages in cloth-making represented: shearing the wool, weaving, dyeing, and fulling.

25 ζκευο... () might be a new word. The last letter, raised above the line, looks like tau or gamma; the one after the omicron looks most like lambda or mu. No likely solution has been suggested.

27 πέπτης is not in the dictionaries, but has appeared once before, in P. Lugd. Bat. XIII 15. 7, see note. From Hesych. μαζοπέπτης: ἀρτοκόπος it is supposed to mean 'baker'.

3493–3494. LOANS OF WHEAT

Two interest-free loans of wheat in cheirograph-form, each in duplicate (note e.g. **3493** 11–12 χιρόγραφον...ιδιόγραφον διισδόν γραφέν). The parties in each document are the same, Sarapion and Diogenes, but in one of the documents (**3493**) Sarapion acknowledges receipt of 257½ artabas from Diogenes while in the other (**3494**), which is dated on the same day, Diogenes acknowledges receipt of 257½ artabas from Sarapion. The explanation of this curiosity remains uncertain. Had the contracts been written for the parties by a third person one might suppose that he had misunderstood the respective roles of his clients so that one of the pairs should have been invalidated and discarded, but this supposition may be excluded since each of the parties apparently wrote his own pair of acknowledgements; each loan is described as *ιδιόγραφον*, and they are in hands which are probably different although resembling each other in parts. It is tempting to think that some surreptitious deal lurked behind the texts, but if so its nature is elusive. In any case the deal, whatever it was, seems not to have been implemented (but see **3494** 39 n.); each pair of duplicates is written on a single large sheet that was never then cut, and furthermore the inventory-numbers imply that both pairs were found together in the excavations. Did one of the parties keep both contracts? Note that we may infer from *διισδόν γραφέν* that no other copies existed.

Each of the two sheets is virtually complete; one has the remains of a 3-line annotation in the lower margin while the other has a docket on the back. Each was folded vertically to the same size. The similarity in their dimensions and appearance suggests that they were cut from the same roll, but the presence of (reversed-direction) kollema-joints down the extreme left edge of each piece makes it difficult to confirm whether they were once contiguous. The right-over-left overlap of the kollema-joints (a further detail of similarity) implies that both pieces were turned upside-down before writing, whether together (and cut subsequently) or separately.

Taken separately, the two contracts would not occasion much surprise, except for the substantial amount of grain concerned. It is to be noted that no fixed repayment time is set, although the stipulations regarding the grain to be repaid may imply that repayment was expected soon after the coming harvest or even before it. That the loans

are not of seed-corn is indicated by their date in late February (M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 137 seqq.), as also by the possibility of repayment before the coming harvest and by the already large volume of grain which, if interpreted as seed-corn, would represent an enormous scale of operations. No mention is made of interest or taxes. For interest-free loans see P. W. Pestman, *JJP* 16 (1971) 7–29. In the present instance(s) the fact that the quantity of grain is not a round figure and is so precisely fixed may imply that interest is already included; on the other hand we do not know whether the reciprocal nature of this curious transaction may have made the question of interest quite unnecessary.

3493

27 3B.42/G (1)

19.9 × 33.9 cm.

23 February A.D. 175

The duplicate main texts are well preserved, separated (14–15) by a gap of 5 cm. There is a deep lower margin with a damaged 3-line annotation at its lower edge. The back is blank.

The only notable difference of wording between the two copies is that the first omits *ἄκριθον* found in 23 in the second. In identifying the harvest from which the wheat came, the writer in both copies (4, 18) changed from using figures to using full wording.

*Καραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Διογένους τοῦ Ἑρμαΐσκου μητρὸς
 Δημητροῦτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ-
 χων πόλεως Διογένει τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ Διογένους τοῦ Διογένους μητρὸς
 Πλουτάρχης
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ
 παραμεμετρηῆσθαι
 πυροῦ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος [[ιδ]] τεσσαρασκαιδεκάτου ἔτους μέτρῳ
 δημοσίῳ ἡμι-
 5 αρταβίῳ ἀρτάβας διακοσίας πενήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ, γίνονται ἀρτάβαι διακό-
 CIAI πενήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ, ἃς ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν αἰρή ταύτας σοι παραδώσω ἢ
 {c}οῖς ἐὰν
 αἰρή ἀνυπερθέτως ἢ γενήματος τοῦ τεσσαρασκαιδεκάτου ἔτους ἢ τοῦ
 ἐνεστῶτος
 πεντεκαιδεκάτου ἔτους νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολον ἄβολον κεκοικινευμένου
 μέτρῳ τῷ προκειμένῳ ἐν κώμῃ Ψώβθαι τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τοπαρχίας,
 10 γινομένης σοι τῆς πράξεως ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων
 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. κύριον τὸ χιρόγραφόν μου τοῦ Καραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου*

ιδιόγραφον διςσὸν γραφὲν πανταχῆ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ
ἐπιφέροντι. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου

Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ

Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου, [Με]χ[ε]ῖ[ρ κθ.]

(vac.)

- 15 *Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Διογένους τοῦ Ἑρμαΐσκου μητρὸς
Δημητροῦτος
ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως Διογένει τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ Διογένους τοῦ Διογένους
μη-
τρὸς Πλουτάρχης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ
σοῦ καὶ παραμετρηῆσθαι πυροῦ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος
τεσσαρασκαιδεκάτ[ου]
ἔτους μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ ἀρτάβας διακοσίας πενήκοντα ἑπτὰ
20 ἡμισυ, γίνονται ἀρτάβαι διακοσῖαι πενήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ, ἃς ὀπηνίκα
ἐὰν αἰρή ταύτας σοι παραδώσω ἢ {ς}οῖς ἐὰν αἰρή ἀνυπερθέτως <ἦ>
γενήματος τοῦ
τεσσαρασκαιδεκάτου ἔτους ἢ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πεντεκαιδεκάτου ἔτους νέον
καθαρὸν ἄβολον ἄβολον ἄκριθον κεκοσκινευμένον μέτρῳ [τῷ] προκε[ι-]
μένῳ ἐν κώμῃ Ψώβθαι τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τοπαρχίας, γιν[ο]μ[έν]ης
25 σοι τῆς πράξεως ἕκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων καθάπερ
ἐκ δίκης. κύριον τὸ χιρόγραφόν μου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου
ιδι-
όγραφον διςσὸν γραφὲν πανταχῆ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ
ἐπιφέρο[ν]τι. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Ἀντωνίνου Σε[β]αστοῦ]
Ἀρμεν[ια]κοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου, Μεχειρ κθ.*

(blank space of 6 cm.)

- 30 (m. 2?)]τα ἀποδιδούντος[
]αποντος καὶ .[.].[. . .].[
]ξρου τὰ γράμματα [

4 l. τεσσαρασκαιδεκάτου; so in 7, 18, 22 6 c of ἄς corr.? v of ταύτας corr. from c. First ω of παραδώσω
corr. from ο 8 ε of ἔτους rewritten; l. ἄβολον κεκοσκινευμένον 9 ἀπηλιώτην: λ rewritten, τ corr.
18 τ of τεσσαρασκαιδεκάτ[ου] apparently corr. from ι: cf. 4 21 l. παραδώσω 23 l. ἄβολον

(Lines 15–29) ‘Sarapion also called Alexander, son of Diogenes and grandson of Hermaiscus, his mother being Demetrous, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Diogenes also called Dionysius, son of Diogenes and grandson of Diogenes, his mother being Plutarche, from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have from you and have had measured out to me by the public half-artaba measure two hundred and fifty-seven and a half artabas of wheat from the produce of the past fourteenth year, total two hundred and fifty-seven and a half artabas, which whenever you choose I shall give {these} back to you or to whomsoever you choose without delay, either from the produce of the fourteenth year or (from the produce) of the present fifteenth year (in wheat that is) new, pure, unadulterated, free from earth and barley, sifted (and measured) by the aforesaid measure, in the village of Psobthis in the eastern toparchy, and you are to have the right of execution upon me and upon all my property as one does when bringing a *dike*. This cheirograph written in my own hand in duplicate by me Sarapion also called Alexander is irrefutable wherever it is presented and for everyone presenting it on your behalf. The 15th year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Germanicus Maximus, Mecheir 29.’

8 νέον. Sc. *πυρόν*, as elsewhere in these documents. νέος is of course regular terminology in clauses relating to the repayment of grain, but here is specially significant, indicating that repayment at whatever time it occurred was to be made in grain from the most recent harvest, thus qualifying the alternatives of 7–8.

11 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης: cf. XLVII 3351 12 n. κύριον: see H. J. Wolff, *ZRG, Röm. Abt.*, 90 (1973) 373.

30 ἀποδιδόντος. Cf. P. Mich. VIII 515. 2 and 4 n.

3494

27 3B. 42/G (2)

19.5 × 33.9 cm.

23 February A.D. 175

The papyrus is well preserved except at the top right corner of the upper text. The two texts are separated by a narrow gap of little more than 1 cm. There is a lower margin, without annotations, of 5 cm. On the back, a short single-line docket.

There are two points of variation between the two copies: the first omits the mention of the grandfather and the mother of Sarapion, in 21 in the second (τοῦ Ἐρμαΐσκου μητρὸς Δημητροῦτος), while the second omits ἄκριθον found in 10 in the first.

Διογένης ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος Δι[ογέ]νους τ[οῦ Διογένους] μητρὸς Πλουτάρ[χη]ς
 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύνχων πόλεως Σαραπίωνι [τῷ καὶ Ἀλεξά]νδρῳ Διογ[ένους]
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμ[ολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ παρα]-
 μεμετρηῆσθαι πυροῦ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος τεσσαρεσκαίδε-
 5 κάτου ἔτους μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ ἀρτάβας διακοσίας
 πενήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἡμικυ, γείνονται ἀρτάβαι διακόσιαι πενήκον-
 τα ἑπτὰ ἡμικυ, ἃς ὀπηγίκα ἐὰν αἰρή ταύτας σοι παραδώσω
 ἢ οἷς ἐ<ὰν> αἰρή ἀνυπερθέτως ἢ γενήματος τοῦ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτου
 ἔτους ἢ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πεντεκαιδεκάτου ἔτους νέον καθαρὸν
 10 ἄδολον ἄβολον ἄκριθον κεκοσκινευμένον μέτρῳ τῷ προκει-
 μένῳ ἐν κώμῃ Ψώβθῃ τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τοπαρχίαν,

γεινομένης σοι τῆς πράξεως ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
 χόντων μοι πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης, κύριον τὸ χει-
 ρόγραφόν μου τοῦ Διογένους τοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου ἰδιόγραφον
 15 διςσὸν γραφὲν πανταχῆ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ
 ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου, Μεχεῖρ κθ̄.

Διογένης ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος Διογένους τοῦ Διογένους μητρὸς Πλου-
 20 τάρχης ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
 Διογένους τοῦ Ἑρμαῖσκου μητρὸς Δημητροῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτ[ῆ]ς
 πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ παραμεμε-
 τρηῆσθαι πυροῦ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτου
 [ἔτου]ς μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ ἀρτάβας διακοσίας
 25 [πεντ]ήκ[ον]τα ἐπτὰ ἡμικυ, γείνονται ἀρτάβαι διακόσαι
 πενήκοντα ἐπτὰ ἡμικυ, ἃς ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν αἰρή ταύ-
 τας σοι παραδώσω ἢ οἷς ἐὰν αἰρή ἀνυπερθέτως ἢ γενή-
 ματος τοῦ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτου ἔτους ἢ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 πεντεκαιδεκάτου ἔτους νέον καθαρὸν ἄβολον ἄβολον
 30 κεκοσκινευμένον μέτρῳ τῷ προκειμένῳ ἐν κώμῃ
 {μη} Ψώβθαι τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τοπαρχίας, γεινομένης
 σοι τῆς πράξεως ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
 μοι πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφόν
 μου τοῦ Διογένους τοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου ἰδιόγραφον δις-
 35 σὸν γραφὲν πανταχῆ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ
 ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ
 Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου, Μεχεῖρ κθ̄.

Back (m. 2?) ci() Ψώβθ(εως)

10 l. ἄβωλον 11 l. τοπαρχίας 13 v of κύριον corr. from v 28 second ε of τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτου
 corr. from α 29 l. ἄβωλον 30 l. κεκοσκινευμένον

(Lines 19–38) 'Diogenes also called Dionysius, son of Diogenes and grandson of Diogenes, his mother being Plutarche, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Sarapion also called Alexander, son of Diogenes and grandson of Hermaiscus, his mother being Demetrous, from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have from you and have had measured out to me by the public half-artaba measure two hundred and fifty-seven and a half artabas of wheat from the produce of the past fourteenth year,

total two hundred and fifty-seven and a half artabas, which whenever you choose I shall give {these} back to you or to whomsoever you choose without delay, either from the produce of the fourteenth year or (from the produce) of the present fifteenth year (in wheat that is) new, pure, unadulterated, free from earth (and barley), sifted (and measured) by the aforesaid measure, in the village of Psobthis in the eastern toparchy, and you are to have the right of execution upon me and upon all my property as one does when bringing a *dike*. This cheirograph written in my own hand in duplicate by me Diogenes also called Dionysius is irrefutable wherever it is presented and for everyone presenting it on your behalf. The 15th year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Germanicus Maximus, Mecheir 29.'

39 The docket on the back is presumably to be expanded *ει(τολόγων) or ει(τολογίας)* (or another case?) or the like; specification of *πυρός* in the document seemingly excludes a reference to *είτος* here. The docket will then refer to the completion of the transaction through the granary in Psobthis (cf. 11, 31) but it is not clear if it should indicate that the transaction was in fact completed; cf. the main introduction to 3493-4 above, where it is suggested that the arrangements were not implemented.

3495. FISHING ACCOUNT

26 3 B. 52/B (1)+(2)+(3)

92.5 × 22.4 cm.

Second century

A well-preserved account containing seven columns with day-by-day entries of receipts and outgoings in money connected with the business of fishing. For the fishing-industry in general see XLVI 3267-70 and C. A. Nelson, *MPL* 2 (1977) 233-43, and H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 214, with references. See also P. Turner 25.

The account covers a 21-day period from Phaophi 11 to Hathyr 1 (= October 8/9 to 28/29) of an unspecified year. Fishing activity was concentrated in the autumn and winter months, see P. Oxf. 12. 8-10 n. and C. A. Nelson, *op. cit.* 242. Daily receipts are entered under the words *βόλου*, *όψολογίου* and *νυκτερινού* (sc. *βόλου*; see notes on 2, 5 and 10), and the outgoings under the word *θεαγῶ* (8 n.). From time to time the *βόλου*-entries are followed not by a sum of money but by *ταριχ(ία)* or *ε(ίς) ταριχίαν*; that is to say, a batch was not immediately sold or taxed but was set aside for pickling.

It is not clear whether the document is official or private – that is to say, an administrative account of the *έπιτηρηταί* of fishing or the fishermen's record of income from sales. We may, I think, exclude its being a temple account: on that explanation, the *θεαγός*-payments (otherwise to be seen as corporate) would have to be interpreted as salary and the amount – 133 dr. 1 ob. in 21 days – is far too high. If it is the fishermen's account recording the gross proceeds from the sale of each catch, the amount – around 1700 dr. in 21 days – seems reasonable and the *θεαγός*-payments, a bit less than one-twelfth of the take, can be readily understood as payment for the hire of boats or the like: cf. P. Ryl. 11 196. 13-14. The entries for *όψόλογιον*, which record income, may be a problem on this explanation, see 5 n. If the account is official and records the tax paid or due on the sale of each catch (not due on the catch simply, or the fish set aside for pickling would not escape taxation at this stage), the calculated

gross sales might seem excessive; but in fact the daily figures are not much different from those the ἐπιτηρηταί report, for example in their five-day account P. Osl. III 89 which belongs to the same time of year as the present text. On this interpretation a difficulty is presented by the *θεαγός*-payments, which would have to be interpreted as a government subsidy: whereas a daily payment on the part of the fishermen seems plausible, a government subsidy administered this way seems much less so. 3495 may be the kind of official day-book from which the ἐπιτηρηταί composed their five-day returns such as P. Osl. III 89; in respect of the *θεαγός*-payments, it may be notional, in that the sums due were totted up.

It is not clear whether the account is the original day-by-day record or a fair copy of it. Only one hand appears to have been at work. The *βόλου*-entries exhibit a regularity that suggests a fair copy, but the drachma-amounts by contrast are uneven and out of register in a way that suggests they have been added. Yet it is hardly conceivable that the *βόλου*-pattern could have been forecast.

The accounts are given in terms of a 7-obol drachma. Obols as such nowhere exceed 5, and are expressed by the usual symbols; 6 obols are represented by the *χαλκίνη*. Drachma-amounts are not multiples of four.

There is wide variation in the size of the sums entered beside the numbered *βόλοι*, from 1 dr. 1 ob. (17) to 80 dr. (176). Clearly the size of the catch varied accordingly, but we cannot easily judge the size of a catch because the evidence for fish prices is limited and they were naturally governed by quality as well as quantity (see e.g. A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 317) and because of the uncertainty as to whether the sums represent income from sales or the tax thereon.

The calculations consist only of simple addition and subtraction but exhibit errors right through the text. These errors occur both in the daily totals and in the totting-up of the daily totals: in 27 the totting-up figure is doubly wrong, being neither the sum of the recorded daily totals (two out of three of which are wrong) nor the sum of what those daily totals should have been. Sometimes the errors are small, an obol only, sometimes possibly attributable to reading error – e.g. in 94 one might give the scribe the benefit of the doubt and suppose that he read the odd obol in 85 as an extended crossbar of theta. In 195 the daily total is stated 100 dr. too little. The extent of errors is extraordinary, given the simplicity of the arithmetic. In every case the error is on the low side, which must arouse the suspicion that they may be deliberate rather than the result of incompetence.

The account is written across the fibres. Preceding col. i there is a wide space of 31 cm., blank except that at the foot (below where an immediately preceding column would have come, had there been one) is written *αφλβ*; i.e. 1,532 drachmas? The roll is composed of four kollemata whose width (before pasting) varies from 22 to 27.5 cm. This roll is referred to by E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, 48, where the measurements from kollesis-edge to kollesis-edge (22–23 cm.) are given. On the other side is a cession of A.D. 139 which will appear in a later volume. In the margin

of the cession is a jotting apparently related to the fishing account, (γίνονται?) .ζι (πεντώβολον). There seems to be no drachma-sign. The first figure ought to be 'Α, thus indicating 1,210 dr. 5 ob. Neither this nor 'Αφλβ will accurately represent the overall total of the account, whether calculated from the total of the βόλος-amounts (1,693 dr.), from the daily totals as calculated on the papyrus (1,590 dr. 5 ob.), or from the totals calculated on the papyrus at the foot of each column (whether or not including col. vii for which the papyrus contains no total: so 1,588 dr. 1 ob. or 1,339 dr. 4 ob.).

i

	ἀγαθῆ τύχη. Φαῶφι		
	$\bar{\alpha}$. $\bar{\alpha}$ βόλου	(δραχμαὶ)	η
	$\bar{\beta}$ βόλου	(δραχμαὶ)	ι χα(λκίνη)
	$\bar{\gamma}$ βόλου	(δρ.)	β (διώβολον)
5	ὀψολογίου	(δρ.)	ζ (διώβ.)
	δ βόλου	(δρ.)	η (τετρώβ.)
	ε βόλου	(δρ.)	α (πεντώβ.)
	ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ	(δρ.)	ι (διώβ.)
	λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας	(δρ.)	κζ (διώβ.)
10	ιβ. $\bar{\alpha}$ νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	η
	$\bar{\beta}$ βόλου	(δρ.)	η
	$\bar{\gamma}$ βόλου	(δρ.)	ια (τριώβ. ?)
	δ βόλου	(δρ.)	δ
	ὀψολογίου	(δρ.)	ε (ὀβ.)
15	ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ	(δρ.)	ις
	λοιπαὶ	(δρ.)	κ
	$\bar{\iota}\bar{\gamma}$. νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	α (ὀβ.)
	β βόλου	(δρ.)	κ
	ὀψολογίου	(δρ.)	β (διώβ.)
20	$\bar{\gamma}$ βόλου	(δρ.)	η
	ὀψολογίου	(δρ.)	α (ὀβ.)
	δ βόλου	(δρ.)	ιδ (διώβ.)
	ε βόλου	(δρ.)	ε (πεντώβ.)
	ὀψολογίου	(δρ.)	α (πεντώβ.)
25	ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ	(δρ.)	ιβ
	λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας	(δρ.)	μβ (διώβ.)
		(δρ.)	πθ (τριώβ.)

ii

	[ι]δ̄.	ὄψολογίου	(δρ.)	η	
		α βόλου	(δρ.)	ι	χα(λκίνη)
30		β βόλ[ο]υ	(δρ.)	β	(διώβ.)
		γ̄ βόλ[ο]υ	(δρ.)	η	
		δ̄ βόλου	(δρ.)	α	(πεντώβ.)
		ε βόλ[ο]υ	(δρ.)	ς	(διώβ.)
		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ			
35		(δρ.) θ	(πεντώβ.)		
		λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας	{(δρ.)}		
		(δρ.) κζ	(τριώβ.)		
	ιε̄.	ὄψολογίου	(δρ.)	η	
		α βόλου	(δρ.)	ιγ	(ὀβ. ?)
40		β βόλου	(δρ.)	α	(πεντώβ.)
		γ̄ βόλου	(δρ.)	ε	(ὀβ.)
		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ			
		(δρ.) θ	(πεντώβ.)		
		λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρ <α>			
45		(δρ.) ιζ	(διώβ.)		
	ις̄.	ᾱ βόλου	(δρ.)	ι	(διώβ.)
		β̄ βόλου	(δρ.)	ιβ	
		γ βόλου	(δρ.)	ιδ	(διώβ.)
		δ βόλου	(δρ.)	ια	(τριώβ.)
50		ε βόλου	(δρ.)	δ	
		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ			
		(δρ.) θ	(πεντώβ.)		
		λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας			
		(δρ.) μβ	(διώβ.)		
55	ιζ̄.	νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	ιβ	
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	κη	
		γ̄ βόλου	(δρ.)	ις	
		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ			
		(δρ.) η			
60	(δρ.)	ρλε	λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας	(δρ.)	μη

iii

	ιη.	νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	κη
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	λβ
		γ βόλου	(δρ.)	κ
		δ βόλου	(δρ.)	κα (ὀβ.)
65		(γίνονται) τῆς ἡμέρας	(δρ.)	ρα (ὀβ.)
	ιθ.	νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	ιβ
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	ς χα(λκίνη)
		γ βόλου	(δρ.)	ιγ (πεντώβ.)
		δ βόλου	(δρ.)	η
70		ε βόλου	(δρ.)	ς (διώβ. ?)
		ζ βόλου	(δρ.)	η
		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ		
		(δρ.)	κδ	
		λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας		
75		(δρ.)	λ	χα(λκίνη)
	κ.	νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	η
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	ιβ
		γ βόλου	(δρ.)	θ (πεντώβ.)
		δ βόλου	(δρ.)	ε (πεντώβ.)
80		ε βόλου	(δρ.)	κ
		ζ βόλου	(δρ.)	ς
		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ		
		(δρ.)	β	(διώβ.)
		λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας		
85		(δρ.)	νθ	(ὀβ.)
	κα.	νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	η
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	ιβ
		γ βόλου	(δρ.)	ια (τριώβ.)
		δ βόλου	ταριχ(ία)	
90		ε βόλου	(δρ.)	η
		ς βόλου	(δρ.)	ι (διώβ.)
		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ		
		(δρ.)	α	(πεντώβ.)
		λοιπαὶ	(δρ.)	μη
				κλθ

iv

- 95 κβ. νυκτερινοῦ (δρ.) ε (πεντώβ.)
 β βόλου (δρ.) α (πεντώβ.)
 γ βόλου (δρ.) ε (πεντώβ.)
 δ βόλου (δρ.) δ
 ε βόλου (δρ.) η (τετρώβ.)
 100 ζ̄ βόλου (δρ.) β (διώβ.)
 ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ
 (δρ.) β (διώβ.)
 λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας
 (δρ.) κε (πεντώβ.)
 105 κγ̄. νυκτερινοῦ (δρ.) ι (διώβ.)
 β βόλου (δρ.) ιβ
 γ βόλου (δρ.) ς (διώβ.)
 δ βόλου (δρ.) ι (διώβ.)
 ε βόλου (δρ.) η
 110 ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ
 (δρ.) β (διώβ.) λοιπα<ι> (δρ.) μδ
 κδ̄. νυκτερινοῦ τα(ρι)χ(ία)
 β βόλου (δρ.) ιβ
 γ̄ βόλου (δρ.) ις
 115 δ βόλου (δρ.) ιβ (τετρώβ.)
 ε βόλου (δρ.) κη
 ζ̄ βόλου (δρ.) ε (πεντώβ.)
 ζ βόλου (δρ.) γ (τριώβ.)
 ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ
 (δρ.) β (διώβ.)
 120 λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας
 (δρ.) οε (τριώβ.)
 κε̄. νυκτερινοῦ (δρ.) ζ
 β βόλου (δρ.) ιβ
 125 γ βόλου (δρ.) η
 δ̄ βόλου (δρ.) ιβ
 ε ε(ίς) ταριχίαν
 (δρ.) ρμε (ὀβ.)

v

- ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ (δρ.) β χα(λκίνη)
 130 λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρα <ς>
 (δρ.) λς (ὀβ.)
 κζ. νυκτερινοῦ (δρ.) ιβ
 β βόλου ταριχ(ία)
 γ βόλου (δρ.) ι (διώβ.)
 135 δ βόλου (δρ.) θ (ὀβ.)
 ε βόλου (δρ.) ιβ
 ζ βόλου (δρ.) η
 ἄλλο(υ) (δρ.) δ
 ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ
 140 (δρ.) γ (τριώβ.)
 λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας
 (δρ.) νβ
 κζ. νυκτερινοῦ ταρ(ι)χ(ία)
 β βόλου (δρ.) ις
 145 γ βόλου (δρ.) η
 δ βόλου (δρ.) κδ
 ε βόλου (δρ.) κ
 ζ βόλου (δρ.) κβ (διώβ.)
 ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ
 150 (δρ.) γ (τριώβ.)
 λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας
 (δρ.) πς χα(λκίνη)
 κη. πρότου βόλου (δρ.) ιε (πεντώβ.)
 β βόλου (δρ.) ιβ
 155 γ βόλου (δρ.) ι
 δ βόλου (δρ.) μ
 ε βόλου (δρ.) κη
 ζ βόλου (δρ.) κ
 ζ βόλου (δρ.) κη
 160 η βόλου (δρ.) λς
 (δρ.) ροε

vi

θ βόλου (δρ.) κδ

ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ

(δρ.) γ (τριώβ.)

165 λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας

(δρ.) ci (διώβ.)

κθ. α βόλου (δρ.) κδ

β̄ βόλου (δρ.) κ

γ βόλου (δρ.) λβ

170 δ̄ βόλου (δρ.) ις

ε βόλου (δρ.) κη

ς βόλου (δρ.) νς

ζ βόλου (δρ.) λς

η βόλου ἀντὶ

175 ε (δρ.) κ

θ βόλου (δρ.) π

ι βόλου (δρ.) μ

θεαγῶ

(δρ.) δ

180 λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας'

(δρ.) τμη

λ̄. α βόλου (δρ.) κ

β βόλου (δρ.) ις

γ βόλου (δρ.) μ

185 δ βόλου (δρ.) κ

ε βόλου (δρ.) ις

ς βόλου (δρ.) ις

ζ βόλου (δρ.) μ φνς

vii

η βόλου (δρ.) κη

190 θ βόλου (δρ.) μη

ι βόλου (δρ.) μη

ια βόλου (δρ.) θ (πεντώβ.)

θεαγῶ (δρ.) δ

PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)
 195 (δρ.) ρϙζ (πεντώβ.)
 Ἐθὺρ ā
 α βόλου (δρ.) ι (διώβ.)
 β βόλου (δρ.) κ
 γ βόλου (δρ.) η
 200 δ̄ βόλου (δρ.) δ
 ε βόλου (δρ.) γ (τριώβ.)
 ζ βόλου (δρ.) β (διώβ.)
 ζ βόλου (δρ.) α (πεντώβ.)
 η βόλου (δρ.) β χα(λκίνη)
 205 θεαγῶ (δρ.) α (πεντώβ.)
 λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας
 (δρ.) ν χα(λκίνη)

89 ταρι^χ So in 133 112 τα^χ 143 ταρ^χ 153 1. πρώτου 194 ημερ^ι

(1-27)	‘For good fortune. Phaophi	
11th.	1st cast	8 dr.
	2nd cast	10 dr. 6 ob.
	3rd cast	2 dr. 2 ob.
	From <i>opsologion</i>	6 dr. 2 ob.
	4th cast	8 dr. 4 ob.
	5th cast	1 dr. 5 ob.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	10 dr. 2 ob.
	Remaining from the day	27 dr. 2 ob. (!)
12th	1st (cast), nocturnal	8 dr.
	2nd cast	8 dr.
	3rd cast	11 dr. 3 ob.
	4th cast	4 dr.
	From <i>opsologion</i>	5 dr. 1 ob.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	16 dr.
	Remaining	20 dr. (!)
13th	Nocturnal	1 dr. 1 ob.
	2nd cast	20 dr.
	From <i>opsologion</i>	2 dr. 2 ob.
	3rd cast	8 dr.
	From <i>opsologion</i>	1 dr. 1 ob.
	4th cast	14 dr. 2 ob.
	5th cast	5 dr. 5 ob.
	From <i>opsologion</i>	1 dr. 5 ob.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	12 dr.
	Remaining from the day	42 dr. 2 ob.
		89 dr. 3 ob. (!)
(28-60)	‘14th From <i>opsologion</i>	8 dr.
	1st cast	10 dr. 6 ob.
	2nd cast	2 dr. 2 ob.

		3rd cast	8 dr.
		4th cast	1 dr. 5 ob.
		5th cast	6 dr. 2 ob.
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	9 dr. 5 ob.
		Remaining from the day	27 dr. 3 ob.
15th		From <i>opsologion</i>	8 dr.
		1st cast	13 dr. 1 ob.
		2nd cast	1 dr. 5 ob.
		3rd cast	5 dr. 1 ob.
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	9 dr. 5 ob.
		Remaining from the day	17 dr. 2 ob. (!)
16th		1st cast	10 dr. 2 ob.
		2nd cast	12 dr.
		3rd cast	14 dr. 2 ob.
		4th cast	11 dr. 3 ob.
		5th cast	4 dr.
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	9 dr. 5 ob.
		Remaining from the day	42 dr. 2 ob.
17th		Nocturnal	12 dr.
		2nd cast	28 dr.
		3rd cast	16 dr.
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	8 dr.
		Remaining from the day	48 dr.
			135 dr. (!)
(61-94)	' 18th	Nocturnal	28 dr.
		2nd cast	32 dr.
		3rd cast	20 dr.
		4th cast	21 dr. 1 ob.
		Total for the day	101 dr. 1 ob.
	19th	Nocturnal	12 dr.
		2nd cast	6 dr. 6 ob.
		3rd cast	13 dr. 5 ob.
		4th cast	8 dr.
		5th cast	6 dr. 2 ob.
		6th cast	8 dr.
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	24 dr.
		Remaining from the day	30 dr. 6 ob.
20th		Nocturnal	8 dr.
		2nd cast	12 dr.
		3rd cast	9 dr. 5 ob.
		4th cast	5 dr. 5 ob.
		5th cast	20 dr.
		6th cast	6 dr.
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	2 dr. 2 ob.
		Remaining from the day	59 dr. 1 ob.
21st		Nocturnal	8 dr.
		2nd cast	12 dr.
		3rd cast	11 dr. 3 ob.
		4th cast for pickling	
		5th cast	8 dr.
		6th cast	10 dr. 2 ob.
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	1 dr. 5 ob.
		Remaining	48 dr.
			239 dr. (!)

PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

(95-128)	'22nd	Nocturnal	5 dr. 5 ob.
		2nd cast	1 dr. 5 ob.
		3rd cast	5 dr. 5 ob.
		4th cast	4 dr.
		5th cast	8 dr. 4 ob.
		6th cast	2 dr. 2 ob.
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	2 dr. 2 ob.
		Remaining from the day	25 dr. 5 ob.
	23rd	Nocturnal	10 dr. 2 ob.
		2nd cast	12 dr.
3rd cast		6 dr. 2 ob.	
4th cast		10 dr. 2 ob.	
5th cast		8 dr.	
From which to the <i>theagos</i>		2 dr. 2 ob.	
Remaining		44 dr. (!)	
24th	Nocturnal for pickling		
	2nd cast	12 dr.	
	3rd cast	16 dr.	
	4th cast	12 dr. 4 ob.	
	5th cast	28 dr.	
	6th cast	5 dr. 5 ob.	
	7th cast	3 dr. 3 ob.	
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	2 dr. 2 ob.	
	Remaining from the day	75 dr. 3 ob.	
	25th	Nocturnal	7 dr.
2nd cast		12 dr.	
3rd cast		8 dr.	
4th cast		12 dr.	
5th cast for pickling		145 dr. 1 ob. (!)	
(129-61)	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	2 dr. 6 ob.	
	Remaining from the day	36 dr. 1 ob.	
26th	Nocturnal	12 dr.	
	2nd cast for pickling		
	3rd cast	10 dr. 2 ob.	
	4th cast	9 dr. 1 ob.	
	5th cast	12 dr.	
	6th cast	8 dr.	
	Another	4 dr.	
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	3 dr. 3 ob.	
	Remaining from the day	52 dr.	
	27th	Nocturnal for pickling	
2nd cast		16 dr.	
3rd cast		8 dr.	
4th cast		24 dr.	
5th cast		20 dr.	
6th cast		22 dr. 2 ob.	
From which to the <i>theagos</i>		3 dr. 3 ob.	
Remaining from the day		86 dr. 6 ob.	
28th	1st cast	15 dr. 5 ob.	
	2nd cast	12 dr.	
	3rd cast	10 dr.	
	4th cast	40 dr.	

		5th cast	28 dr.
		6th cast	20 dr.
		7th cast	28 dr.
		8th cast	36 dr.
			175 dr.
(162-88)		9th cast	24 dr.
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	3 dr. 3 ob.
		Remaining from the day	210 dr. 2 ob.
	29th	1st cast	24 dr.
		2nd cast	20 dr.
		3rd cast	32 dr.
		4th cast	16 dr.
		5th cast	28 dr.
		6th cast	56 dr.
		7th cast	36 dr.
		8th cast instead of 5th	20 dr.
		9th cast	80 dr.
		10th cast	40 dr.
		To the <i>theagos</i>	4 dr.
		Remaining from the day	348 dr.
	30th	1st cast	20 dr.
		2nd cast	16 dr.
		3rd cast	40 dr.
		4th cast	20 dr.
		5th cast	16 dr.
		6th cast	16 dr.
		7th cast	40 dr.
			556 dr. (!)
(189-207)		8th cast	28 dr.
		9th cast	48 dr.
		10th cast	48 dr.
		11th cast	9 dr. 5 ob.
		To the <i>theagos</i>	4 dr.
		Remaining from the day	197 dr. 5 ob. (!)
	Hathyr 1st	1st cast	10 dr. 2 ob.
		2nd cast	20 dr.
		3rd cast	8 dr.
		4th cast	4 dr.
		5th cast	3 dr. 3 ob.
		6th cast	2 dr. 2 ob.
		7th cast	1 dr. 5 ob.
		8th cast	2 dr. 6 ob.
		To the <i>theagos</i>	1 dr. 5 ob.
		Remaining from the day	50 dr. 6 ob.

² The distribution of supralinear strokes over numerals appears to be quite random.

βόλου. A *βόλος* is a station for fishing with a cast net according to L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 533-5, cf. *REG* 92 (1979) 457 no. 286. This geographical sense cannot be the meaning though in 3495: the ordinals indicate time and not place, as is clear from where in place of *ἄ βόλου* we find *ἄ νυκτερινοῦ* or *νυκτερινοῦ* simply (10, 17 etc.: see 10 n.).

⁵ *ὀψολόγιον* poses a problem whether the account is private or official. Apart from the fragmentary P. Tebt. III 867. 41 (the context there at least seems fishy, cf. 37), the word is evidenced from papyri by P. Lond. III 856 (pp. 91-2) where it appears to be an excise tax paid in money, and by P. Turner 25. 16-17 where it is a money surcharge on a lease-rental, explained (16 n.) as perhaps a tax payable

by owners of fishing rights which was passed on to their lessees. Neither meaning will suit an account of fishermen's receipts, were that what we have here: suitable might be receipts from the sale of fish sent for pickling. Note that ὀψολόγιον-amounts are entered from Phaophi 11-15, and ταριχία from Phaophi 21-7. Such a sense will equally not suit P. Lond. 856 and P. Turner 25. The tax explanations will obviously suit an account of ἐπιτηρηταί, but the distribution of the entries remains curious, especially the three entries on Phaophi 13.

8 According to W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel* 195¹, the *θεαγοί* are to be identified with the *παστοφόροι*, but PSI IX 1039 argues against this. The word receives no entry in G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon*. In the present account there is one entry each day except one for a payment to the *θεαγός*, and the amounts vary from 1 dr. 5 ob. to 24 dr. a day. These amounts bear no consistent relation to the sum of the βόλου-entries for each day. The day with no *θεαγῶ*-entry - Phaophi 18 - is followed by the top payment of 24 dr., which is perhaps for two days. If the payments relate to a specific service rather than a more general tax or subsidy, the reference to *πλοίων θεαγῶν* in P. Ryl. III 196. 13-14 may be relevant; if that is not a fossilized tax, the relationship to the boats of taxpayers, village officials and government remains problematical.

9 The total is an obol short.

10 *νυκτερινού* (sc. βόλου) occurs in the account on Phaophi 12-13 and then constantly from Phaophi 17-27. This appears to be the only papyrological evidence for nocturnal fishing. If fishing took place only when there was adequate moonlight, this might explain the cessation in this account of nocturnal activity after Phaophi 27. Oppian refers to fishing with the aid of torches (*Cyn.* iv 140-3; *Hal.* iv 640-6 and v 428-31); for nocturnal fishing see also *Hal.* iii 85-7.

16 The total ignores all obols.

27 This is the total for Phaophi 11-13. It is not the sum of the daily totals, which would be 89 dr. 4 ob. The true total of the individual βόλοι etc. would be 90 dr. 2 ob.

45 The total is a drachma short.

60 135 dr. is the correct addition of the given daily totals for Phaophi 14-17. The true figure, however, should be 136 dr.

94 239 dr. is the total for Phaophi 18-21. The daily totals for these days are correct, but the sum given in 94 is an obol short.

111 The total given for the day, 44 dr., is 4 ob. short.

128 This is the correct addition of the daily totals given for Phaophi 22-24. See 111 n.; the figure should have been 145 dr. 5 ob.

138 ἄλλο(ν). Is anything meant other than a seventh βόλος?

161 This is the total for Phaophi 25-7.

174-5 η βόλου ἀντὶ ε. We are at a loss for the explanation of this curious statement.

188 φνς is given as the sum of the correct daily totals for Phaophi 28-9 but is 2 dr. 2 ob. short.

195 The total is 100 dr. short.

3496. NOTICE OF CREDIT IN GRAIN

69/15(b)

6 × 21 cm.

December A.D. 214/

January A.D. 215?

Notice of grain credited to Zoilus, to meet his metropolitan tax dues for the area of the village of Peenno in the middle toparchy. Cf. 3497. It is stated that the grain was debited from amounts already transferred to meet metropolitan taxes for Peenno. Possibly the holder of the account from which transfer had originally been made had paid in error taxes scheduled for settlement by Zoilus, perhaps through misunderstanding the terms of a lease or the like; if so the present document would be in essence simply the transference of a tax-account credit. ἀπὸ τῶν (6) may suggest

that the original payer had met other tax liabilities in the Peenno-metropolitan category besides the amount paid in error; and if the above analysis were correct, the amount debited to him in favour of Zoilus would not need to be made up later. But we would expect such a third party to be named. A simpler suggestion is that Zoilus may have overpaid his taxes for the 21st year (A.D. 212/13), and now the surplus instead of being refunded is being credited to him against his current tax obligations.

The back is blank.

Διεστάλ(ησαν) (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος)
 τοῦ προδιεληλυθ[ότος]
 κα (ἔτους) Μάρκου
 Αὔρηλίου Σεουήρου
 5 Ἐντωνίνου Καί[ς]αρο[ς]
 τοῦ κυρίου ἀπὸ τῶν
 προστεθ(εισῶν) ὑ(πὲρ) πρ(ακτορείας)
 Πειννῶ μητροπ(όλεως)
 – Ζωίλω πρ(ε)β(υτέρω) Ζωίλ(ου)
 10 Πειννῶ πρόλ(εως) ἀρτάβ(αι)
 τέσσαρες ἥμισυ
 τέταρτον χ(οίνικες) ζ,
 (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) δLd [χ(οίνικες) ζ.]
 (ἔτους) κγ Αὐτοκράτορος
 15 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὔρηλίου
 Σεουήρου Ἐντωνί[νου]
 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου
 Βρετανικοῦ Μεγί[ςτου]
 Γερμανι[κοῦ Μεγίςτου]
 20 Εὐσεβ[οῦς Σεβαστοῦ,]
 Τῦβι .[
 Ἰσχυρ[
 απ . .[
 .[

9 Ζωίλω slightly inset and preceded by short horizontal mark, ρβ

‘Transferred, from the wheat-crop of the year before last – the 21st year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Caesar the lord, from the (artabas) credited to the tax-district of Peenno, for metropolitan taxes, to Zoilus the elder, son of Zoilus, for Peenno for metropolitan taxes, four and three-quarters artabas and 6 choenices, tot. art. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$, choen. 6. The 23rd year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius

Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus, Tybi ... Ischy- ...'

2-3 Why is the wheat transferred a year and a half old? If the document represents an administrative correction of the records (see the introd. above) rather than a real physical transfer (see too 7 n. below), perhaps the original (and erroneous) payment had been made following the harvest of the 21st year (if the reading in 3 is correct) and in wheat of that harvest.

7 *προστεθ(εισῶν)* signifies an accounting transfer rather than a physical transference of the grain, see F. Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 120.

8 *μητροπ(όλεως)*: cf. *πόλεως* in XLIV 3165 7, 3169 *passim* and especially 3185 5 with n.

9 The mark before *Ζωίλω* is perhaps from a letter (e.g. the crossbar of a τ) begun in error.

πρ(ε)β(υτέρω): the form of the abbreviation suggests that the writer had *πρ(ε)β-* compounds in mind, cf. XL 2915 20 n. For the spelling *πρ(ε)βύτερος* instead of *πρ(ε)βύτερος* cf. XLVI 3278 15 n., with the reference to Mayer-Schmoll 1 i p. 45 lines 38-42 (§6, 5); also F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods*, 1 (Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1976), p. 290.

13 [*χ(οίνικες) ζ*]: a trace of ink does survive, but it remains unclear to what precisely it should be assigned.

14-15 These two lines are severely effaced. The year number in 14 is transcribed solely on the basis of *κα* (itself uncertain) in 3.

3497. NOTICE OF CREDIT IN GRAIN

69/46 (a)

7.5 × 17.5 cm.

A.D. 216?

Notice of credit in grain issued by the sitologi of Ophis in the eastern toparchy. The transfer was made from one private account to another, in all likelihood to meet tax-liabilities assessed on the latter under the village of Phoboou, in the same toparchy. The form follows familiar lines. Cf. XXXI 2591, with the introd. to 2588-91; further, III 613-18; XII 1539-40; XXXVIII 2871; O. Brüss. 65; *SIFC* 43 (1971) 157-8; and F. Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 143 seqq. An unexpected feature is provided in 11-12, where the writer declares this notice of credit to be a duplicate. Presumably the original had been lost, see 11 n.

The back is blank.

διεστάλ(ησαν) πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος)
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο(ς) κῆ (ἔτους) Μάρκου
 Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου
 Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος

5 τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τιτολ(όγων)
 Ὡφ(εως) ἀπὸ θέμ(ατος) Κλαυδίας
 Πτολέμας τῆς καὶ Δ[c. 4]
 Ἡρακλᾶ τῶ καὶ Πεκ[ύσει?]
 Θεώνιος Φοβῶου .[.].

10 ζ() ε() (ἀρτάβαι) ζd (χοίνικες) δ, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ζd (χοίνικες) δ.
 φθάνω δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ σύμβολ(ον)
 ἐγδούς. Ὡρίων σεση(μείωμαι).

10 ζ' ε) 11 ν of φθάνω corr.

'Transferred, of wheat from the produce of the present 24th(?) year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of Ophis, from the deposit of Claudia Ptolema also called D. . ., to Heraclas also called Pekysis(?), son of Thoonis, for Phoboou. . . 7¼ artabas and 4 choenices, tot. art. 7¼, choen. 4. I have already issued the same receipt. Signed by me, Horion.'

2 κδ: less likely is κφ. The 24th year of Caracalla corresponds to A.D. 215/16, but the exact date of the present document must fall in 216 since the document was issued after the harvest of the 24th year, which is said still to be current.

6-7 A Claudia Ptolema appears in IV 810 of A.D. 134/5, but that is hardly likely to be the same person unless her private account was kept up under her name after her death.

8 Πεκ[ύσει] *exempli gratia*: there are other possibilities but Πεκύσει is the commonest name beginning Πεκ-.

9 After the village-name, a low trace at the edge of the lacuna; beyond the lacuna a long horizontal trace, perhaps of a line filler (cf. 3, 5, 11 and 12 where extended final strokes fill out the lines).

10 The abbreviations at the beginning of the line remain puzzling. ζ(ίτου) for the first seems excluded by πυροῦ in 1. ζ might be ζ(ύμπαντι), cf. XLIV 3163 9 and n., and ε() might be ε(πι τὸ αὐτό), though the need for these in this apparently simple single-quantity transfer is not apparent. Given the lacuna in 9, attempts to understand these abbreviations separately may be pointless.

11-12 The same sense, differently worded, is given by O. Bodl. II 549. 1 and the parallel examples to which the note there refers us; add O. Leid. 258. Obviously related are the phrases of διὰ τὸ φάσκειν παραπεπωκέναι-type, discussed by H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II 934-6. Further references are given by R. A. Coles, *TAPA* 97 (1966) 64. [The text to which that note refers has to be reconsidered in the light of P. NYU 5-11 a: see N. Lewis, *BASP* 7 (1970) 112.]

3498. SALE AND CESSION OF LAND

50 4B. 34/E (13)a

23.5 × 31.5 cm.

27 October A.D. 274

Of this large sheet of papyrus cut from a roll all four edges are represented, but the upper left portion, with more than a quarter of the text, is lost. There is a kollesis c. 7 cm. from the right-hand edge. The back is blank.

The loss of text from lines 1-25 amounts to at least forty letters at the beginning of every line and is too extensive to allow a certain reconstruction. From the subscription we know that C. Julius Diogenes sells and cedes half of 25 $\frac{11}{16}$ arouras. We can see that the buyer was a woman and that the land was at the village of Seryphis, but many details of previous ownership, boundaries, etc., which were clearly the subject of 5-18, seem lost beyond recovery (see commentary).

The price of the land is one interesting new fact to come from the document. Half of 25 $\frac{11}{16}$ arouras of artificially irrigated arable land sold at five talents of silver money (30,000 drachmas) yields a price of 2,335.7 drachmas per arura. In *Aeg.* 23 (1943) 38-44 O. Montevicchi has collected the known prices, qualities and areas of land, and A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 146-7, made certain calculations from more limited material. Both agree that too many factors are unknown to begin to explain the enormous variations in prices. This is quite true, but it does seem consistent that a piece of overgrown land sells at 1,200 dr. per ar. in A.D. 249 (XIV 1636), while artificially irrigated land which seems to be in good order sells at about twice as much twenty-five years later in 3498.

For the type of document and a short bibliography see O. Montevocchi, *La Papirologia*, 210-11. The parallels which have proved most useful for supplying the missing parts are IX 1208, XIV 1636, XXIV 2723, and P. Wisc. 19.

	Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Διογένης	c. 40-45 letters	
	]...].].] τῆς λαμπροτάτης		
	c. 30-35		τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ]
	λα[μ]προτάτης Ὀξ[υ]ρυγχειτῶν πόλε[ω]ς υἱὸς Γαίου		
	Ἰουλίου Τείρωνος	c. 20-25	]αρχήσαντος τῶν λαμπρῶν
	πόλεων Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν		
	καὶ	c. 25-30	καὶ ὡς ἐχρη]μάτιζεν χωρὶς κυρίου
	χρηματιζούσῃ κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων		
5	ἔθῃ τέκνων δικαίῳ χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι καὶ παρ]ακ[ε]χωρηκέναι		
	σοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον		
	τὸ ὑπαρχόν μοι κληρονομικῶ δικαίῳ πρότερον τοῦ] δηλουμένου μου		
	πατρὸς Τείρωνος ἤμισυ		
		c. 40-45	α]δελφον αὐτοῦ
	Οὐαλεριανὸν διαιρέσεως ἧς τὸ δικαι-		
		c. 35-40	περὶ] κώμην Σερύφιν
	τῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχίας		
		c. 40-45	ἐ]δαφῶν σιτικῶν
	ιδιωτικῆς ἀρουρῶν εἴκοσι		
10	πέντε ἡμίτους ὀγδόου ἐκκαιδεκάτου	c. 10-15	]... ἄρουραι
	δώδεκα ἤμισυ τέταρτον ἐκκαι-		
	δέκατον δυοτριάκστον	c. 20-25	]... τροχοῦ καὶ
	λάκκου καὶ φυτῶν καὶ μηχανῆς		
		c. 40-45	ἀ]ρουρῶν εἴκοσι
	πέντε ἡμίτους ὀγδόου ἐκκαιδε-		
	κάτου	c. 35-40	]α ἀρούρας
	δεκατρεῖς τρίτον ἐκκαιδέκατον		
	ῶν γείτονες νότου ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου μέρους	c. 5	]... μὲν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
	ἀπὸ λιβὸς ἢ ἐξῆς, βορρᾶ ιδιωτικῆ		
15		c. 40-45	]... λων,
	ἀπηλιώτ[ου] πλευρισμός, λιβὸς ἐκ μὲν τοῦ		
	ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρους	c. 10-15	, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ νότου δι]ώρυξ. ἐν δὲ τῇ
	ἐτέρᾳ σφραγίδι τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρού-		

- ρας δώδεκα ἕκτον ὄγδοον ὧν γείτονες νότου c. 5-10] . . . υἰδιωτικῆ,
 βορρᾶ καὶ ἐπηλιώτου αἰ ἐπάνω
 λιβὸς c. 5 . τὰς δὲ συμπεφωνημένας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ] τιμῆς καὶ
 π[αρα]χωρητικοῦ τοῦ ἡμίους μέρους
 τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν εἴκοσι πέντε ἡμίους ὄγδού] ἐκκαιδεκάτ[ου] καὶ
 τοῦ μέρους τῶν ὑδρευμά-
 20 των καὶ μηχανῆς καὶ τῶν συνωνομασμένων πάντων] ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ
 νομίσματος δραχμὰς
 μυριάδας τρεῖς, αἶ εἰσι τάλαντα πέντε, αὐτόθι ἀπέσχον] παρὰ σοῦ ἐκ πλήρους
 διὰ χειρός, καὶ περὶ τοῦ
 ἡριθμῆσθαί με ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ ὠμολόγη]σα. κρατεῖν οὖν σε
 καὶ κυριεύειν σὺν ἐκ-
 γόνοις καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ μεταληψομένοις τοῦ πωλουμ]ένου καὶ
 παραχωρουμένου σοι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὡς
 π]ρό[κειται ἡμίους μέρους τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν] καὶ ὑδρευμάτων καὶ
 μηχανῆς καὶ τῶν
 25 συνω[νομασμένων πά]ν[των καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν χρᾶσθαι] καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ
 αὐτῶν ὡς ἐὰν αἰρή, μηδε-
 μίας μοι [ἢ ἄλλω μη]δενὶ ὑ[πὲρ] ἐμοῦ ἐφόδου κατα[λειπομένη]ς ἐπὶ ταύτας
 ἢ ἐπὶ μέρος αὐτῶν κατὰ μηδένα
 τρόπον, ἄ[σπερ καὶ ἐπάν]αγκ[ε]ς παρέξομαί σοι βεβαία[ς] διὰ παντὸς ἀπὸ
 πάντων πάσῃ βεβαιώσει καὶ κα-
 θαρὰς ἀπ[ό] τε γεωργίας β]ασιλικῆς κα[ὶ] οὐσιακῆς γῆς κα[ὶ] παντὸς εἴδους
 καὶ ἀπὸ ὀφειλῆς καὶ κατοχῆς πάσης
 δημοσία[ς καὶ ἰδιωτι]κῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ βουλευτικῆς καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς
 οὐτινοσοῦν ἄλλου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀ-
 30 πὸ ἀπε[ργασίας καὶ ὑδρ]οφυλακίας χωμάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
 τελουμένων δημοσίων καὶ ἐπικλας-
 μῶν καὶ ἐ[πιμερισμῶν π]αντοίων τῶν ἕως τοῦ διελθόντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 διελθόντος ε (ἔτους) διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἐνεξ[τ]ῶ[τος ζ] (ἔτους) [τούτω]ν πρόσφ[ο]ρα εἶναι σοῦ τῆς παραχωρουμένης,
 πρὸς ἣν καὶ εἶναι τὰ ἀπὸ λημμάτων
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνεστ[ῶτος ζ] (ἔτους) δημόσια καὶ ἐπικλασμ[οὺς π]αντοίους. ἐὰν
 δέ τι φανῇ ὀφειλόμενον ἢ ἐξακολουθοῦν

- τουτ...[.]...[.....]. μου παντὸς πόρου. πάντα δὲ τὸν καθ'
 ὀνδηποτοῦν τρόπον ἐπελευσόμενον
- 35 ἢ ἐμποιησ[όμενον το]ύτων χάριν ἢ μέρους αὐτῶν ἐπάναγκες ἀποστήσω
 παραχρῆμα ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ δα-
 πάναις καθά[πε]ρ ἐκ δίκης. κυρία ἢ πρᾶσις καὶ παραχώρησις τρισσῆ
 γραφεῖσα, ἣνπερ ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν αἰρήῃ ἀνοί-
 ρεις διὰ δημοσίου, οὐ προσδεομένη ἐτέρας μου εὐδοκήσεως διὰ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν
 εὐδοκεῖν με τῇ ἐσομένῃ
 δημοσιώσει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καλῶς πεπραχθαι ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ
 ὠμολόγησα. (ἔτους) ζ Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Λουκίου Δομιτίου Α[ὐ]ρηλιανοῦ Γοθθικοῦ Μεγίστου Καρπικοῦ
 Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
- 40 Σεβαστοῦ, Φαῶφι λ-.
- (m. 2) Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Διογένης καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω πέπρακα καὶ παρεχώρησα τὸ
 ἥμισυ μέρος
 τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν εἴκοσι πέντε ἡμίσεως ὀγδόου ἐκκεδεκάτου καὶ τοῦ
 μέρους
 τῶν ὑδ' ῥ' εὐμά[τ]ων καὶ μηχανῆς καὶ τῶν συνωνομασμένων πάντων καὶ
 ἀπέσχον
 τὰ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ ἀργυρίου[υ] τάλαντα πέντε καὶ βεβξέσω
 πάση βεβεώσει
- 45 καὶ εὐδοκῶ τῇ δημοσιώσει, πάντα δὲ ὡς πρόκειτ[ε] καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς
 ὠμολόγησα.

2 ἕιοσγαῖον 14 ἰδιωτικῆ 17 ἰδιωτικῆ; 1. ἀπηλιώτου 19 ὕδρευμα 24 ὕδρευματων
 27 ἐπαν]αγ' κ[ε]ς 31 ες 32 ς]ς[33 ς]ς 35 ἐπαναγ' κες 38 ις'' 39 δομιτ'τιου
 41 γαῖοσίουλιος 42 1. ἐκκαδεκάτου 44 1. βεβαιώσω, βεβαιώσει 45 1. δημοσιώσει, πρόκειται

'Gaius Julius Diogenes...of the most glorious...of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, son of Gaius Julius Tiro...of the glorious cities of the Oxyrhynchites and the... to...daughter of...and however else he was styled, acting without a guardian according to the customs of the Romans by the *ius liberorum*, greetings. I acknowledge that I have sold and ceded to you henceforth and for ever the half share [that belongs to me by right of inheritance formerly] my said father Tiro's...division of property (with) his brother(?) Valerianus, the title from which...of 25 $\frac{11}{8}$ aruras of private land in grain-growing ground...near the village of Seryphis of the western toparchy... (of which the half share is) of 12 $\frac{27}{32}$ aruras...and of the share of the wheel and the cistern and the plants and the irrigation machine...25 $\frac{11}{8}$ aruras...13 $\frac{19}{8}$ aruras, of which the boundaries are, on the south in the eastern section..., in the western section the following parcel, on the north private land belonging to...and others(?), on the east a dam, on the west in the northern section..., in the southern a canal; in the other parcel the remaining 12 $\frac{7}{24}$ aruras, of which the boundaries are, on the south private land belonging to..., on the north and east the above (aruras?), on the west a canal(?). The sum agreed between us as

the price and cession-value of the half share of the aforesaid 25 $\frac{11}{16}$ aruras and of the share of the water sources and irrigation machine and all the things named along with them, that is 30,000 drachmas of imperial silver coinage, which are five talents, I have received on the spot in full from your hand. And to your question whether I have been paid the whole sum I have given my agreement. You shall therefore own and possess with your descendants and successors the half share of the aforesaid aruras and of the water sources and irrigation machine and all the things named with them, which is sold and ceded to you by me as stated above, and shall have power to use and dispose of them as you may choose, no right to make claim upon them or any part of them being left to me or to any other on my behalf in any way, and of necessity I shall deliver these to you guaranteed from every claim in perpetuity with every guarantee and free from cultivation of royal or domain land and from every tax and from every debt and lien whether public or private or municipal or senatorial and from everything else whatsoever, further also from maintenance work and water guarding on the dikes and from the public dues payable on them, and from extraordinary imposts and compulsory cultivation of any kind up to and including the past fifth year, because the profits from the present sixth year belong to you, to whom the land is ceded, and the public dues from the income of the present sixth year and the imposts of all kinds are for you to pay. If any debt or encumbrance upon them(?) appears... (with my?) whole fortune. Anyone who in any way whatsoever takes any legal action or makes any claim in respect of these or a part of them I shall of necessity oppose at my own expense as if in consequence of a legal decision.

The sale and cession written in three copies is authoritative, and you may submit it whenever you choose through a public office without the necessity of my further concurrence because I hereby give my consent to the future public registration. To your question whether this has been done rightly and properly I have given my agreement.

Sixth year of Emperor Caesar Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Gothicus Maximus Carpicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Phaophi 30th.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Gaius Julius Diogenes and however I am styled, have sold and ceded the half share of the aforesaid 25 $\frac{11}{16}$ aruras and of the share of the water sources and the irrigation machine and all the things named with them, and I have received the five talents of silver money which are the price and cession-value, and I shall guarantee them with every guarantee, and I give my consent to the public registration, and as regards everything as aforesaid having been asked the formal question I agreed.'

1-2 C. Julius Diogenes, cf. 41, is known as prytanis of Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 279/80, see *CE* 43 (1968) 325-31, esp. 328-9. (Add to the references there P. Harr. 140.) None of the other documents gives him a long titulature, but here line 2 evidently attributed to him municipal office or offices, present or past, at Oxyrhynchus. Lines 1-2 evidently attributed to him office in another city, a more important one, since it comes first. Presumably it was Alexandria, cf. e.g. BGU IV 1073 (= *M. Chr.* 198). 3-6. A long descender suiting phi suggests the restoration ὑπομνηματο]γρ[ά]φ[ο]ς τῆς λαμπροτάτης | [πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, cf. *ibid.*

2-4 Line 2 gives Gaius as the *praenomen* of Diogenes' father, whose *cognomen* appears from 6 as Tiro. His *nomen* must evidently have been Julius. He held municipal office, as gymnasiarch or eutheniarch, in Oxyrhynchus and in another city whose lost name followed. Probably, therefore, it was not a more important place. No clear parallel to this has been located. Antinoite citizens could be councillors of Oxyrhynchus, see H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, 238 and n. 179. Athletic victors could gain citizenship in cities other than their own, cf. e.g. XXVII 2476 32-3, 47-8. But holding office in two cities, except for the special case of Alexandrians acting in the nome capitals, is most unusual. There may be a connexion here with P. Harr. 140, a fragment containing subscriptions to a division of property among three persons, one of whom is C. Julius Diogenes. Another party, whose name is lost, had the title παράδοξος, peculiar to athletic victors.

C. Julius Tiro does not occur in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*, or in its supplement, *idem, The Family of the Ti. Iulii Theones*, App. A. It is probable that his name should be read in XII 1537 10, where the edition has the inexplicable form Γαί[ο]υ (γαι[ο]υ) Διδύμ[ου] Τίρωνος. A photograph has failed to confirm this absolutely, but γαιῶν[ο]υ Τίρωνος seems a possibility, and certainly a *nomen* is required.

4 This line began with καί, followed by the name of another city to match Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν in 3. It continued with the name, in the dative, of the woman to whom Diogenes ceded the land. After that came her patronymic. Her father was dead, as we see from the tense of καὶ ὡς ἐχρη]μάτιζεν.

5-6 Cf. IX 1208 8-9 for the restoration, but of course κληρονομικῶ δικάϊω is no more than a likely guess, see 7-8 n.

7-8 Since so much is missing, the sense can only be guessed. Perhaps the most likely course of events is that the land came to Tiro as the result of a division of property between him and his brother Valerianus and that the right of ownership descended by inheritance to Diogenes. If so, restore e.g. μέρος τὸ κατηντηκός αὐτῶ (= Τείρωνι) ἐξ ἧς πεποιήται πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Οὐαλεριανὸν διαιρέσεως ἧς τὸ δικάϊ[[ον ἦλθεν εἰς ἐμὲ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διαθήκην, 'share which came to him (Tiro) as the result of the division which he concluded with his brother Valerianus, the title from which came to me in accordance with my father's will'. Of course, this is sheer conjecture. Το ἀδελφόν, πατράδελφον and μητράδελφον are possible alternatives, and we cannot exclude, for instance, τὸ κατηντηκός μοι (= Διογένει) ἐξ ἧς πεποιήμαι κτλ. The restoration of 8 is open even wider to other interpretations.

9 Restore first τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου νομοῦ οἱ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ, then ἐκ τοῦ οἱ ἐκ τῶν followed by a clerus name or names and perhaps κλήρου οἱ κλήρων, cf. *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 159-244, *Festschrift Oertel*, 101-6. Only cleruchic land was alienated by παραχώρησις.

9-11 The full extent of the land half of which is ceded is known from the subscription, 42. What follows in 10-11 is evidently the area of the half ceded, cf. P. Wisc. 1 9. 15-16. The phrase that introduces it in P. Wisc. 9 is uncertainly read, see Pl. III there, but it plainly was not the same. Here restore something like ὦν αἰ τοῦ ἡμίς]ργς οἱ ὦν αἰ τοῦ ἡμίςους μέρ]ργς.

11-12 This passage specifies appurtenances of the land and is shortened in 19-20, 24-5 and 42 to καὶ ὑδρευμάτων καὶ μηχανῆς καὶ τῶν συνωνομασμένων πάντων. The traces before τροχοῦ do not suit καὶ οἱ]ους and do not seem to suit τοῦ; they might be]ργς, e.g. καὶ τοῦ προσόν]ργς τροχοῦ.

12-18 The essential wording of this passage has not been recovered, but it is plain that the full extent of the land half of which is ceded was specified again in the genitive (12-13), as ar. $25\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{16}$, and it was said here that it comprised two parcels, cf. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρῃ σφραγίδι (16). The indispensable elements of the restoration of 14, cf. e.g. XII 1537 13-22, fill the lacuna there well enough to exclude the addition of the next fraction in the series (δυστριακοστόν), and therefore show that the larger parcel was no bigger than the figures in 13 indicate, i.e. ar. $13\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{16}$, from which by subtraction we can arrive at the area of the smaller parcel, i.e. ar. $12\frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{8}$, which is to be restored in 17. It is very unusual for the arura to be divided by three instead of the regular two, see W. *Gdz.* LXIX-LXX, but τρίτον is certain in 13 and the arithmetic enforces the restoration of ἕκτον in 17. For a discussion of irregular series of fractions see WO 1 776.

The boundaries are not entirely recoverable, but we can see that the larger parcel formed the entire northern and eastern boundaries of the smaller, while the smaller formed only a part of the southern boundary of the larger. The canal which formed the southern part of the larger parcel's western boundary very probably also formed the whole of the western boundary of the smaller parcel. Fig. 1 shows two possible shapes:

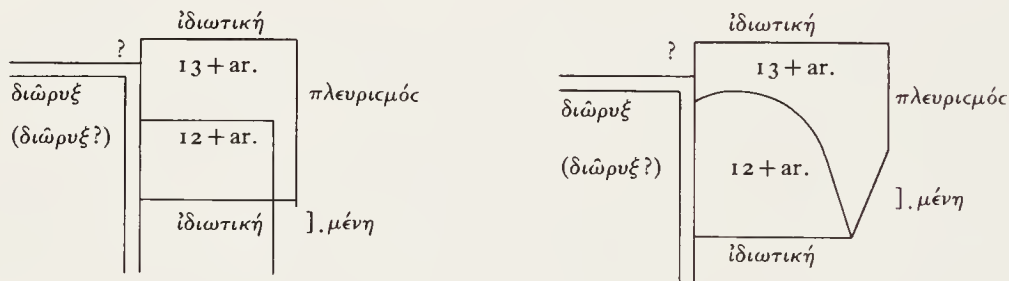


Fig. 1

14]. μένη. The first letter is rounded. Restore perhaps ἐσπα]ρμένη, but cf. XII 1537 18, 21-2 ιδιω(τική) ὀδευομένη, and there may well be other possibilities.

ἡ ἐξῆς. Presumably σφραγίς is the word to be understood, cf. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρῃ σφραγίδι (16). Cf. 17 n.

15 Restore probably καὶ ἄλλων, preceded by the name or names of one or more owners of the adjoining private land. Cf. XV 1636 14 ἀπηλιώτου ἐτέρων ιδιωτική.

17 ἐπηλιώτου. Read ἀπηλιώτου. Eta has been corrected from alpha, which suggests that the writer anticipated ἐπάνω and failed to correct the error completely.

αἱ ἐπάνω. This must mean the other parcel of land, cf. ἡ ἐξῆς (sc. *σφραγίς*) in 14. If it should not be corrected to ἡ ἐπάνω (sc. *σφραγίς*), the noun to be understood is presumably ἄρουραι. That it was not written out in 18 is indicated by the fact that forty letters must be supplied in that line according to common form, leaving only about five for the specification of the boundary on the west. This boundary was probably the same as the southern part of the western boundary of the other parcel, i.e. a canal, διῶρυξ, see 16. In a similar context in XII 1537 19 we find ἡ ἐπάνω σφρα[γί]ς. Here, however, the phrase ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ σφραγίδι (16), taken with the single set of boundaries in 14–16, forbids us to suppose that there were more than two parcels and understand αἱ ἐπάνω (*σφραγίδες*).

28–9 κατοχῆς . . . βουλευτικῆς. Cf. IX 1208 21 (with BL VI 101 = *TAPA* 97 (1966) 61. 18 n.); PSI VII 771. 16.

That a κατοχῆ βουλευτικῆ must be connected with the bouletic funds seems necessary and A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 41–2, shows that the bouletic funds came from the εἰσιτήριον paid by the members of the council and that the fund got interest on the εἰσιτήριον if it was not paid in a lump sum. The κατοχῆ βουλευτικῆ must be the lien placed on the councillor's land until the εἰσιτήριον was paid in full. The natural implication of this would be that the seller was a member of the council, which he almost certainly was in the present document, see 1–2 n., but in 1208 this was not specified.

30 τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τελουμένων. The same should be read in IX 1208 21, where [ύ]πὲρ ἄ[λλ]ων was restored.

33–4 The meaning of the clause ἐὰν δέ τι φανῆ κτλ. is clearly that the seller's whole fortune is to held liable for any outstanding debt or other encumbrance on the land which may be discovered after the sale. A similar clause stood in XXXIV 2723 24, where only]φανη ἐξῆ[survives, but no complete parallel has been located. In 34 a high trace before the first lacuna suggests that τούτοι[ς] is better than τούτω[ι]. The second letter after the bigger gap looks very likely to be hyspilon, the first could be omicron. No plausible restoration of the apodosis has been thought of.

3499. SYNCHORESIS

22 3 B. 15/B (1–3) c

10 × 6.6 cm.

c. A.D. 298?

On the synchoresis see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht d. griechischen Papyri Ägyptens*, II 91–5. According to that account (ibid. p. 93) the latest mention of the type dates from A.D. 259. That mention, in SB VIII 9878, concerns a contract actually of A.D. 242, while P. Tebt. II 319 is a synchoresis of A.D. 248. The present scrap, in any case, may well be from the latest example so far known. Unfortunately the assigned date depends on the identification of Aurelius Tiro alias Apoll. . . (4) with Tiro alias Apollonius councillor in XII 1416 1, cf. XII 1515 4, and it is possible that the double name was not confined to one person, cf. 4 n. If the same person is meant, as seems most likely, this document might be some decades earlier than 1416, but even that would put it among the latest examples of the form.

The back is occupied by an account published here as 3502.

τῶ] καὶ Τούρβωνι ἱερεὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆ κα[ὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ
τῶν χρηματικῶν] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων, (vac.)

παρὰ τ]ῆς καὶ Διδύμης Καρᾶ τοῦ κα[ὶ] Διογένους [
]. διὰ Αὐρηλίου Τείρωνος τ[ο]ῦ καὶ Ἀπολλ[

5]. χιος μητρὸς Ἀλίνης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς π[ό]λεως μετὰ κυρίου

τοῦ δεδομένου αὐ]τῆ κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθῃ Αὐρηλίου Σε[
]ιτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. συνχωρεῖ [
] τῆ καὶ Διδύμη ἃς προσυνήλλαξεν α[
] ἀσφάλειαν γεγονυῖαν τῷ προδιελη[λυθότι
].[...].[...].[.....].....[

1 ἱερεῖ 4 l. Τίρωνος 7 l. συγχωρεῖ 9 l. γεγονυῖαν

'To... alias Turbo, priest, archidicastes, and officer in charge of the chrematistae and other courts, from... alias Didyme daughter of Saras alias Diogenes... acting through Aurelius Tiro alias Apoll... (and from)... whose mother is Aline, from the same city, together with Aurelius Sa... , from the same city, the guardian granted to her after the custom of the Romans... agrees... to... alias Didyme... for which she contracted previously... (according to) a deed executed in the... th year last past...'

1 This archidicastes is not in the list in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones*, 129-49. The latest known archidicastes is now one of A.D. 289, see P. Coll. Youtie II 73, published later than the list. One unnamed archidicastes mentioned in P. Cair. inv. 10531. 4 is ascribed to the fourth century by Sijpesteijn.

1-3 The invariable formula shows that between the end of 1 and the beginning of 2 about 30 letters are missing, cf. 5-6 n., but the distribution of these between the lines is uncertain. In 3 after παρά we expect Αὐρηλίῃς, cf. 4, 6, or some other *nomen*, as well as Didyme's first name, and in 1 we expect probably Αὐρηλίῃς or another *nomen* as well as Turbo's first name, so that possibly more may have been lost at the beginnings of the lines and less at the ends than the printed layout suggests.

3-4 The gap must have been partly occupied by the mention of a city, cf. τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως in 5 and 7. Oxyrhynchus is most likely. The form is uncertain.

4 Restore probably Ἀπολλ[ωνίου]. A councillor of Oxyrhynchus called Tiro alias Apollonius appears in XII 1416 1, which is now assigned to A.D. 298, see C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets*, 67-70, with *JRS* 66 (1976) 160. The same combination occurs in XII 1515 4, undated. Apollonius is a very common name, but Tiro is certainly rare enough to encourage the presumption that all three texts refer to the same man, see also introd.

4-5 After Ἀπολλ[ωνίου] restore καὶ followed by Αὐρηλίῃς, or other *nomen*, and a woman's name. In 5] .χίος might be part of her alias, or part of her patronymic, or even papponymic.

5-6 Cf. SB III 6291. 2 for the supplement, which agrees in extent with the necessary restoration of 1-2.

7] ιτος. This might be part of father's, mother's, or grandfather's name.

7-8 The subject of συγχωρεῖ was the woman whose name appeared in the gap between 4 and 5.

8 Also possible is προσυνήλλαξε να[.

9 Restore κατ(ά) to govern ἀσφάλειαν, but perhaps not directly, i.e. perhaps κατ' ἔγγραφον ἃ., vel sim.

3500. MARRIAGE CONTRACT

8 1 B. 186/E(b)

10.3 × 11.4 cm.

Third century

Beginning of a marriage contract between two ἐνταφιασταί (5 n.) of the city of Oxyrhynchus, in 'private protocol' form (see H. J. Wolff, *Proc. XIV Int. Congr. Papyrol.* 349-54) like X 1273, where however the ἔκδοσις of the bride is from the hand of one of her parents. 3500 is of interest for its formula of self-ἔκδοσις of the

bride and for the profession of the two contracting partners. The two factors may be related; i.e. the peculiar status of the profession may explain the unusual formula which bears only a formal resemblance to the Greek type of ἔκδοσις (although that does not amount to an assertion that the ἐνταφιασταί were juridically a separate class, cf. 12 n.). There is no mention of any dowry; if simple poverty is not the reason, this may in turn be due to the self-ἔκδοσις arrangement (but contrast 1 n. below).

For self-ἔκδοσις see also P. Dura 30 and especially J. Modrzejewski's account in *Scritti Montevicchi*, 252-5.

The formula (ἀπ') Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως indicates a date earlier in the century, before the change of titulature in the late 260s: D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) esp. 278 and 281 with n. 19.

Broken off below. The back is blank.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ἐξέδοτο ἑαυτὴν Αὐρηλία
 Κύριλλα Ἰσιδώρου μητρὸς Σινθώνιος ἀπ' Ὀ-
 ξυρύγχων πόλεως Αὐρηλίῳ Πασιγώνει
 Παεῖτος μητρὸς Ταυήτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πό-
 5 λεως, ἀμφότεροι ἐνταφιασταί. συμβιού-
 τωσαν οὖν ἀλλήλοισι οἱ γαμοῦντες φυλά-
 σοντες τὰ τοῦ γάμου δίκαια. ὁ δὲ [γαμῶ]ν
 καὶ ἐπιχορηγ[εῖ]τω τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ δέοντα
 πάντα κατὰ δ[ύ]γαμιν. ἐστάθη δὲ ἐν ἀλ-
 10 [λ]ήλοισι μετοξὺν [Αὐ]ρηλίῳ Διογᾶτος Διογέ-
 [ρου] καὶ Σαραπ[ί]ωνος Παυλείνου ἀμφ[ο-]
 [τέρ]ων συνομοφ[ύ]λων ἐπὶ τῷ ἔαν μὲν
 [ἢ Κύ]ριλλα ἀνε[υ τ]ινὸς εὐλόγου αἰτίας [. . .]
 [. . .] . . . τουπα[. . .] . ος κ[. . . c. 7 letters] . [. . .]
 15 [. . . ἀ]νδρὶ π[. . . c. 8] . . . [. . . c. 12]
 [c. 5] . . . [

2-3 οξυρυγ'χων 7 γ of γάμου corr.?

'For good fortune. Aurelia Cyrilla daughter of Isidorus, her mother being Sinthonis, from the city of Oxyrhynchus has given herself in marriage to Aurelius Pasigonis son of Paeis(?), his mother being Taues, from the same city; both of them are embalmers. Let husband and wife therefore live together with each other, observing the rights of the marriage. The husband is further to provide his wife with all the necessities as far as he is able. This mutual agreement was made in the presence of Aurelius Diogas son of Diogenes and Aurelius Sarapion son of Paulinus, both members of the same profession, on condition that if on the one hand Cyrilla without any reasonable cause . . .'

¹ The self-ἐκδοσις of P. Giss. 2. 8 is different in that the bride acts with her father as κύριος. That contract includes a dowry, unlike 3500: but the involvement of a κύριος in P. Giss. 2 may invalidate direct comparison.

⁴ Παῖτιος. Πάσιτος might possibly be read.

⁵ ἐνταφιασταί. Cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, 1 90–7; also L. Koenen, *ZPE* 9 (1972) 20–1. For women in such professions cf. M. San Nicolò, *Äg. Vereinswesen* (revised ed., 1972), 1 99.

¹⁰ μετοξύ. Cf. XLVII 3345 66 and F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, 1, 287.

¹² συνομοφ[ύλων]. Cf. P. Grenf. II 78. 4, ὁμόφυλον, of a woman in the context of marriage to an ἐξωπυλίτης. Note the Gnomon of the Idios Logos, § 112, where ὁμοφύλοις occurs in a context of juridically separate treatment for the (there inferior) class concerned (γάλλων καὶ καθρών, § 112. 244). It is not clear whether the details and vocabulary of the present contract indicate that ἐνταφιασταί may have been similarly in a special juridical position. There were some restrictions on the marriage of priests, entailed by the position they held, cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 109, but it seems unlikely that ἐνταφιασταί were rated as priests, see M. San Nicolò, *op. cit.* 1 97.

¹³ Cf. P. Lond. v 1711. 43–4, χωρὶς εὐλόγου αἰτίας.

3501. INVITATION TO AN EPICRISIS

22 3B. 14/G (7–10)c

7 × 9.5 cm.

Third/fourth century

The present document offers little variation from previously known specimens of invitations, except in line 6, which is still not understood, see n. On the type see *JEA* 61 (1975) 251–4. To the list there (p. 253 n. 2) add XLIV 3202 and P. Coll. Youtie II 51–2. The item from Cologne is now republished as P. Köln I 57. Other invitations specifically to celebrate an epicrisis are VI 926 (= W. Chr. 486) and XXXVI 2792. On the institution of epicrisis see C. A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt*.

The hand is an upright stylized cursive, more carefully written, but otherwise comparable with P. Mert. I 29 (third–fourth century A.D.) and 32 (early fourth century A.D.). The papyrus is a palimpsest. The earlier text was written in a small cursive hand upside-down in relation to the invitation. It has been so thoroughly washed off that nothing more than an isolated letter or two can be read. The back is blank.

καλεῖ και Κύρος εἰς
 τὴν ἐπίκρισιν [τοῦ
 υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ – σὺ καὶ
 ἡ γυνή σου – ἀπὸ [
 5 ἐννάτης . . [2–3 letters
 δευεῖστα . [
 Μεσορῆ ιε [

1 l. σε 3 ὑἱου 5 l. ἐνάτης

‘Syrus invites you to his son’s epicrisis – you and your wife – from the ninth hour . . . Mesore 15.’

1–2 The restoration follows the wording of XXXVI 2792. A longer version appears in VI 926 – καλεῖ σε . . . δειπνήσαι εἰς τὴν ἐπίκρισιν . . . This is rejected here chiefly because lines 4–5 can hardly have held more

than ἀπό [ῶρα] ἐνάτης or ἀπό [(vac.) or τῆς?] ἐνάτης ῶρ(α), see n. It is not clear whether the presence or absence of δειπνήσαι makes a significant difference to the nature of the invitation.

3 Wives are not usually mentioned in invitations, which may account for the broken syntax.

4-5 The usual phrase is ἀπό ῶρα ἐνάτης. Here the letter after ἐνάτης looks most like omega and there are also traces to the right above it which might suggest the monogram of omega and rho often used for this word, e.g. XXXIII 2678, or might be offsets or part of the palimpsest text. If ῶρ(α) is to be read in 5, the end of 4 may have held τῆς or have been left blank. If not, ῶρα or ῶρ(α) is to be restored in 4. No likely longer version has been thought of, cf. 1-2 n.

For the spelling of ἐνάτης cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, 1 158.

6 No satisfactory articulation of δειπνῆσαι has been achieved. In P. Fay. 132 the invitation is to dine εἰς τὰ Τίτου τοῦ (ἐκατοντάρχου), 'at the house of Titus the centurion', and it is precisely at this point that we expect the location to be given, but εἰς τὰ would leave δειπνῆσαι in unsatisfactory isolation. Cf. perhaps the syllable omitted in δεῦ(ρο) μετ' αὐτοῦ, X 1297 15. It is possible that the sigma has been cancelled very discreetly, but the extra ink may well be accidental.

7 Mesore 15 = 8 August.

3502. ACCOUNT

22 3B. 15/B (1-3)c

10 × 6.6 cm.

Third/fourth century

The writing shows similarities to P. Mert. 1 28 (late third century) and 38 (mid fourth century) and the account stands on the back of 3499 (c. A.D. 298?). The text seems to have been an account of thread or other spun material, see 1 n. on νηματι[. At present little can be made of it.

λόγο(ν.)ν νηματι[
 διὰ Καρμάτου πα[
 κὲ παρὰ Ἀθανασίου[
 κὲ παρὰ τῶν θα.[
 (vac.)
 5 κὲ ἄλλης ἀγωγῆ[
 Καρμάτης (vac.) [
 Θώνης (vac.) [
 Κοπρέως (vac.) [

2 π corr. ex incert. 3-5 I. καί

'Account of thread(?)...through Sarmates from(?)...and from Athanasius...and from the... Another load...Sarmates, Thonis, Copteus...'

1 λόγο(ν.)ν. The writer avoided a place where a vertical fibre is missing.

νηματι[. Though interrupted in the middle, the tall vertical, which also descends slightly below the base-line, looks unlikely to be anything other than iota. The only recorded possibility is νηματικός, which occurs once in Athenaeus Mechanicus, see C. Wescher, *Poliorcétique des Grecs*, p. 34 line 7. Since νέω means to spin, the description by LSJ of the ὄπλον νηματικόν as 'a band of plaited rope or webbing' must be wrong. The material was spun.

The two references to *νήμα* in Daris, *Spoglio*, lead to epitaphs which mention the thread of Fate, but *νήμ()* occurs once in the papyri to mean thread, P. Masp. III 67339. *ἰ λό(γος) νήμ(άτων?) καὶ στημ(όνων)*, and once in P. Lond. IV 1433. 25, where thread looks unlikely. At this point the account mentions boats, woods of various kinds, ropes, and perhaps stakes of wood. The *νήμ()*, of which two hundredweights cost five *solidi*, looks likely to have been cordage of some different material than the rush ropes, *χοι(ν-)*, mentioned along with it.

The form **νημάτιον* is not yet recorded, but may be thought as likely here as *νηματικός*.

2 *πα[ρά]* looks likely, cf. 3-4.

4 *θα*. [. The traces at the end are much confused and damaged. Perhaps a name stood here, though most names in *Θα-* are feminine, and the other names in the piece are masculine.

6-8 To the right of the names is a tall narrow blot, which extends to the broken foot, and other scattered flecks of ink.

VII. PRIVATE LETTERS

3503. DOUBLE LETTER

34 4B. 76/K (10)b

9 × 14.5 cm.

Later first century A.D.

The lower part of a double letter. The papyrus is broken at the top and a small amount is also missing from the left-hand edge. The bottom too is broken and stripped, but the last line on the papyrus contains at least the beginning of a farewell formula. The back is blank.

A date by month and day is given in line 5. The hand looks first century, and this is supported by the use of epistolary formulas which are found only up to the end of the first century, see 3-4 n. The date can perhaps be narrowed down further, for the first prefect to adopt the title *κράτιστος*, which occurred in line 8, was L. Iulius Vestinus (A.D. 59-62), cf. 3464 28 n.

Lines 1-5 preserve the close of a letter addressed to a woman. Leaving a slight space the writer began a new letter addressed to Zoilus, his 'brother'. This is a term which is often just epistolary usage and it need not imply any relationship, cf. XIV 1665 2 n., XVII 2148 introd. Examples of two or more letters written on the same sheet of papyrus and addressed to different members of a household are not uncommon, e.g. P. Tebt. II 416, VII 1067, XXI 2599, SB III 6263, cf. J. G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, 49.

In lines 8-11 the writer refers to a pronouncement by the prefect of Egypt, perhaps ordering that complaints against the strategus were to be heard in Alexandria by the prefect himself.

Lines 11-14 mention a problem over boundaries involving the inhabitants of a village called Psobthis.

.
.....]. [.....]. [...]. [.....]. [...
.....]. α φρόντισον. πρ[ὸ] πάντων σε-
αυτῆς] ἐπιμέλου. ἔρρωσο κυρία
.....].ου Τεχωσοῦν. (vac.)
5] (vac.) Φαμενώθ κ̄.
.....]. Ζωίλω τῶ ἀδελφῶ
] χαίρειν.
ὁ κράτ[ι]στος ἡγεμῶν εἴρηκεν [τ]οῦς
.....]ντας πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν εἰς Ἀ-

10 λεξά]νδρειαν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτῶν
 . . .] διὸ γράφω σοι, ἵν' ἰδῆς. ἐὰν [[δὲ]]
 ἦ σοι] ἀβαρὲς καὶ χρείαν ἔχη σου ο
 . . .]κ[.] . . πρὸς τοὺς Ψωβθείτας
 χάρ]ω τοῦ ὀρίου, μὴ ὀκνήσης. παρ-
 15 ορίζ]ουσι γάρ με πλείω ἀρούρης, νομίζο-
 ντες] ἱκανοὶ ἀνηκε. τ. . [.] . [.] . [.] . . .
] ἐκτε[λ]ίεσθαι. ἔρρωσο. [. . .] . . [. . .]

.
 11 l. εἰδῆς 13 l. Ψωβθείτας 17 l. ἐκτελείεσθαι

'...take thought...Before all things take care of yourself. Farewell, my lady,...Techosous. Phamenothe...'

'...to Zoilus his brother, greetings. His excellency the prefect has said...against(?) the strategus...to(?) Alexandria and...to hear them. Therefore I am writing to you that you may know. If it is no trouble to you and...has need of you against the people of Psobthis in the matter of the boundary, do not hesitate. For they are encroaching on me by more than an arura, believing themselves able to carry out... Farewell...'

2-3 The closing formulas are typical of Ptolemaic and early Roman letters to the end of the first century A.D., see F. X. J. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*, 115-16.

4 The scanty traces are very suitable for ἀπ]άζου, which was probably preceded by καί.

6 It is likely that the line began with the name of the sender in the nominative.

7 Before χαίρειν there is an isolated trace of ink, probably an offset. If not, πολλά or πλείεστα may have preceded χαίρειν, cf. Exler, *op. cit.* 28-9, 62-4.

8-11 Mr Parsons has suggested ἔχο]ντας in 9 and θέλει] in 11. The text may then be translated, 'The...prefect has ordered those with complaints against the strategus to Alexandria and he is willing to hear them'. This is the best solution yet suggested, but the lack of an infinitive after λέγω in this sense, cf. LSJ s.v. III, 5, remains a difficulty till a parallel can be found.

12 For the supplement cf. VI 933 29, XXXIV 2727 18.

12-13 Here perhaps ὁ followed by a title or a personal name, or even a personal name beginning with omicron.

13 There were four villages called Psobthis in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see *Aeg.* 59 (1979) 98-101. Correct the notes to XLVII 3333 21, 3358 5, and CPR v 13. 3, which cite only three.

14-15 For the division of παρορίζουσι between the lines cf. Mayser-Schmoll I, 1 pp. 222-3.

16 Perhaps there is a reference here to *iniuria atrox*, ὕβρις ἀνήκεστος, cf. P. Osl. II 22. 8, SB XII 10929 iii 13 (edited again in *Le monde grec : hommages à Claire Préaux*, p. 760, where this line becomes 23 by a continuous count).

17 Read perhaps [κύρ]ι[ε]. No traces are visible on the projecting fibres below, but it is not sure that 17 is the last line of the letter.

3504. PRIVATE LETTER

No inv. no.

4.8 × 8 cm.

First/second century

The end of a letter, broken at the top and down the right-hand side. The bottom margin and part of the left-hand margin are intact. Five or so letters are missing down the right-hand side but the few lines which remain can be reconstructed with a fair

degree of probability to reveal the writer giving household instructions to those back home. What survives of the back is blank.

The letter is written in a careful, regular hand of a rounded literary type. Several letters are made with loops and a diaeresis is written in line 4. The hand is probably to be dated to the first century, although early second century cannot be entirely excluded. P. Mil. Vogl. IV 235, dated by Foraboschi to the first century, is another example of the same type of literary hand used for a document, although its lettering is larger than that in this papyrus.

.

.....].....[
]. . .μετε.[
 .. ἀ]μελήσης ἐκτιν[
 ...]. α ἰμάτια οτε[
 5 ἔρρω]σο. ἄσπασαι τ[οὺς
 παρ' ἡμῶν πάντας [κατ' ὄ-
 νομα καὶ γράφε μοι περὶ
 ὧν θέλεις ὡς ἡδιστ[
 σωι. ἀσπάζεται ὑμ[ᾶς
 10 μούθισ. (vac.)
 (vac.) Φαρμούθισ [

4 ἰμάτια

... Farewell. Greet all of our people by name and write to me about what you want. I shall do it with the greatest pleasure. ...muthis greets you. Pharmuthi...'

2 Perhaps there is a reference here to *μετέωρα*, 'unfinished business', cf. e.g. P. Lond. III 897. 20 (p. 207); P. Mich. VIII 476. 17; 477. 36-7; 479. 16.

3 For various common expressions involving (μὴ) ἀμελήσης see *Classica et Medievalia* 1 (1938) 162-5.

4 Almost certainly ἐκτιν[is part of ἐκτινάσσειν, since the instruction to shake out clothes to keep them free of dust and moths is common in letters, e.g. BGU III 827. 22; SB v 7992. 17-18; XX 2273 15; P. Mil. Vogl. II 77. 13. In P. Ross. Georg. III 1. 17 it is his books that the writer asks to be shaken out, perhaps to get rid of bookworms, cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 79.

Supply perhaps ὅτε [ἐὰν δέη, 'whenever it is necessary'.

5 ἔρρω]σο seems probable here, since there is no farewell at the foot.

8 In the second syllable of θέλεις the diphthong is corrected, apparently from eta. The writer may have been thinking of an indefinite form, e.g. περὶ ὧν ἄν (or ἐάν) θέλῃς, though ει and η are also phonetic equivalents.

What follows is related to phrases like γράφε ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐὰν θέλῃς καὶ ἡδιστα ποιήσω (VII 1061 21) and περὶ . . . ὧν θέλεις δήλου μοι ἡδέως ποιήσοντι (I 113 30) and γράφε . . . ὡς ἡμῶν ἡδέω[ς] σοι ποιησάντων (P. Mich. I 85. 5), cf. the collection of such expressions in *Classica et Medievalia* 1 (1938) 128-30. The writer may have put ὡς ἡδιστ[α ποιή]σω{ι} by confusion of two types. Better would be ὡς ἡδιστ[α γὰρ ποιή]σω{ι}, though it seems too long.

9-10 Restore a name such as Patermuthis. For other possibilities see F. Dornseiff-B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wb. d. griech. Eigennamen*, 188.

3505. PAPONTOS TO ALEXANDER

43 5 B. 66/F (3)a

14.2 × 34.5 cm.

Second century?

With its twenty-eight lines written along the fibres, the papyrus is complete with all four margins preserved, but lines 20–2 have suffered extensive damage. The letter was folded in half horizontally along line 20, which has almost disappeared because of this. There are six vertical folds which were presumably made when the papyrus was rolled after folding and the roll flattened. There are no signs of a sheet join.

The hand is a large, sprawling, upright cursive, difficult to date. The greeting formula points to the middle of the first century as the earliest possibility, see 1 n.

Παποντῶς (*vac.*) Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ

(*vac.*) χαίρειν.

διεπεμφάμη[ν] σοὶ διὰ Διδύμου δέρματα

βότια – τὸν δὲ ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶ<ν> μεταδώσι σοὶ

5 ὁ αὐτὸς Δίδυμος – καὶ ψιάθους ἐμοῦ μόνου με-

μιλτομέ[]νας λη, κ[ο]ινωνιμέας

μεθ' Ἡρακλείδου πβ ὧν τὸ ἤ[μ] μ' ἰκύ ἐς-

τιν ἐμοῦ, τῆς δαπάνης πάσης τῶν

τε βοτίων καὶ πασῶν τῶν ψιάθων

10 οὔσης πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην. τὰ ἀργύρια ἐὰν

συνλέξῃς εὐθέως διὰ ἐπιθήκης διαπέμ-

ψαι μοι. δῆλοσόν μοι πόσα βότια παρέ-

λεβης καὶ πόσης τιμῆς πιπράσκετε,

καὶ πόσαι ψιάθοι ἀπόκει<ν>ται ἀπὸ τοῦ

15 προτέρου φορτίου, καὶ σὺν τούτοις πόσαι

ἀπόκεινται. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα διὰ τοῦ

αὐτοῦ Διδύμου δηλώσις μοι. εὐθέως δὲ

τὸν αὐτὸν Δίδυμον ἀπόλυσον, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ

πλῖον παρέλκηται παρὰ σοί. τω

20 [c. 12 letters] αλλ. [. .] . ερα

[c. 12] δὲ ἐπιθήκην [. .] . ηδοις

[. .] [.] Διοσκουρίδην καὶ [. .] τινι

δια [.] ν πέμψον μοι. ἀσ[πά]ζονταιί

σε Σαραπίας καὶ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ πάντες. ἀσπάσο-

25 μέ σε Διονύσιος. (m. 2) ἔρ<ρ>ωσο.

(*vac.*)

(m. 1) ιε (ἔτους) Μεχειρ ζ
(vac.)

εἴ τινος ἐὰν δέηται ἀργυρ[ίου] Πausανίας
ὁ ναυτικός, δός, καὶ δῆ[λωσόν] μοι πόσα ἔλαβε.

Back, upwards:

Ἀλεξάνδρωι (design) παρὰ Παποντῶτ[ος]

4 l. βότεια, μεταδώσει 5-6 l. μεμιλωμένας 6 l. κοινωνιμαίας 9 l. βοτείων 11 l. συλλέξης
12 l. δήλωσόν μοι, βότεια 12-13 l. παρέλαβες 13 l. πιπράσκειται 15 v of τούτοις corr.
from ι; l. ταύταις? 17 l. δηλώσεις 19 l. πλείον 24-5 l. ἀσπάζομαί ce

'Papontos to his own Alexander, greetings. I have sent you through Didymus some sheepskins – the same Didymus will let you know how many of them there are – and some mats, of which thirty-eight, dyed red, belong to me alone, eighty-two I own together with Heracleides; half of these are mine, but all the expense for the sheepskins and for all the mats is for Heracleides to pay. If you collect the money, send it to me at once by letter of credit. Tell me how many sheepskins you received and at what price they are selling, and how many mats are in stock from the last shipment and how many are in stock counting these. You are to let me know all this through the same Didymus. Let the same Didymus go at once, so that he may not be detained longer with you . . . letter of credit . . . to (?) Dioscurides and . . . send me . . . Sarapias and all those in the household greet you. I, Dionysius, greet you. (2nd hand) Farewell. (1st hand) 15th year, Mecheir 6th.

If the boatman Pausanias needs any money, give (it to him), and let me know how much he got.'

Back. 'To Alexander from Papontos.'

1 F. X. J. Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography*, 31, collects instances of τῷ ἰδίῳ in the opening formulas. He has ten examples ranging from A.D. 50 to the second century. According to H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes*, 104, the word does not indicate any family connexion and letters beginning in this way are said often to concern economic affairs. The present letter is clearly not an exception. There is a strong suspicion that this use of ἴδιος might be a translation of Latin *suus*.

4 βότεια (= βότεια), cf. 9, 12. The word βότειος has occurred so far only in P. Fay. 107. 4 referring to fleeces (κώδια). Since that papyrus comes from Philadelphia, the fact that the writer was called Papontos must be dismissed as coincidence.

5-6 μεμιλωμέ[]νας. It seems that the writer found the sheet damaged at this point. The verb μιλω is new in the papyri; for references to μίλω see S. Daris, *Spoglio Lessicale*, II s.v.

11 Ὁν ἐπιθήκη see F. Preisigke, *Griechische Papyri*, 204-5, XLIII 3146 8 n., 3092 9 n.

12-13 παρέλεβες (= παρέλαβες). Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 244-6 (ε > η), 278-82 (α > ε).

15 We expect ταύταις rather than τούτοις, but the present consignment includes δέρματα as well as ψίαθοι and he may have intended to ask for an account of both.

19 After coi we appear to have tau with a superscript delta. If the delta was intended to replace the tau, the intended words may have been δὸς ἀψῶ.

24-5 ἀσπάζομαί (= ἀσπάζομαι) ce Διονύσιος. Dionysius is apparently the writer of the letter, as distinct from the sender Papontos, whose clumsy and ill-spelled farewell stands in 25. See H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae*, II 1010 (= BICS II (1964) 24) for the elucidation of a parallel in P. Merton II 82. 19-20, *Σαραπιάμων* [[δ]] ce ἀσπάζομαι, and a similar passage in P. Mich. VIII 482. 8 ff., Πετεεύς ὁ γρά[φω]ν μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀσπά[ζε]τέ σοι (= ἀσπάζεται ce) λίαν λίαν. Another example may be XLII 3057 29, i.e. perhaps read Λεωνᾶς ἀσπάζομαί ce, δέσποτα.

26 The form of ζ is that with a tail, which looks like the printed version. This is rarer in the papyri than the form which looks like a lunatic sigma, but is not a good indication of date, see U. Wilcken, *Observationes*, 49-50.

3506. HARBAETHUS TO THERMUTHION

A 4B. 5A/7

9.1 × 22.4 cm.

Third century

Harbaethus writes to his daughter Thermuthion reproving her for not acting in accordance with his instructions. The context remains obscure, in part due to the damaged condition of 8–10. Further down, Harbaethus declares that he will hold his daughter and two others responsible if they do not make reparation. It is not clear if the subject-matter remains the same in the lower part of the letter, where Harbaethus writes that he hopes to settle an affair regarding his children before the *archiereus*.

The practised semi-cursive hand may be assigned to the third century. Cf. VII 1019 = E. G. Turner, *GMAW*, no. 66; PSI v 472 = M. Norsa, *Scritt. doc.*, pl. xix d.

The address is written along the fibres on the back.

Ἄρβαῖθος Τερμουθίῳ
 τῇ θυγατρὶ χαίρειν.
 ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἂ ἐγὼ ἔγρα-
 ψά σοι ποιῆσαι, ἄλλα ἐς-
 5 στὴν ἂ σὺ ἐπραξᾶς. γείνωσ-
 κ[ε] οὔν ὅτι ἔμαθόν σε σὺν
 Ἄρ[σο]ῦτι ἀναβεβη[κ]έναι
 [c. 5 letters] . . ρ . μεν . [.] . .
 [c. 7] [. . . νοτῆ] ασα ευ
 10 ρ[c. 7] . . . παρ' [ή]μειν
 καὶ βεβαστάχατε. ταῦ-
 τα ἀποκαταστήσαν-
 τες ὅ[υ]που ἔκειτο. [α]
 εἰ δ' ἄρα μή, πρ[ὸ]ς σὲ καὶ
 15 Ἄρσοῦν καὶ Θομψόιν ἐς-
 τὴν μου ὁ λόγος. ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθῆ-
 τε ἄχρι οὗ ἀναβῶ πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ εἰς λόγος ἔσται
 ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ τὴν ἐκάσ-
 20 του γνώμην. ὅταν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς
 προέλθῃ φροντιῶ πῶς
 ἀπαρτιςθῆ τὸ περὶ τῶν
 τέκνων μου. λέγεται δὲ

ὅτι κατ' ὄνομα τῶν παιδίων
 25 αἰτοῦσι ἀνά (δραχμάς) ρκ' ἐν τοσού-
 τῳ οὖν δῆλωσόν μοι ἵνα
 εἰδῶ. ἄσπασαι Διονυσίαν καὶ
 Παμοῦνιν. ἐρρωσθ(αι) εὐχομ(αι).

Back, upwards:

ἀπόδ(ος) Θερμουθίῳ ἀπό (cross) Ἀρ[β]α[ίθο]υ πατρὸς

1 1. Θερμουθίῳ 5-6 γεινώ|κ[ε] 10 1. ἡμῖν 18 ὕμας 24 παιδιῶ 25-6 ε of τοσούτω
 corr. 26 ἵνα 28 ἐρρωσ^θε^υχο^μ 29 ἀπο^δ

'Harbaethus to his daughter Thermuthion, greetings. What I have written to you to do is one thing, what you have done is another. Know then that I learnt that you together with Harsus went up... in our possession and you appropriated them. Put them back(?) where they were; if you do not, I shall hold you and Harsus and Thompsonis responsible. But if you put them back any time before I come up, no responsibility whatever shall fall on you: for I know the disposition of each one (of you). Whenever the *archieus* comes forth, I shall see how the matter regarding my children may be settled. It is said that they are demanding 120 drachmas per child. In the meantime, then, inform me that I may know. Greet Dionysia and Pamunis. I pray for (your) health.'

(Back) 'Deliver to Thermuthion from Harbaethus her father.'

1 *Τερμουθίῳ*: a variant for the commoner *Θερμουθίῳ*, cf. 29.

7 Ἀρ[σο]ῦτι: cf. 15.

9-10 Possibly εὐρήκατε?

12-13 Perhaps ἀποκαταστήσα{ν}τε{ς} was intended, especially since the persons concerned are women.

13 ὄ[ν]πον: i.e., if correct, οὖ corr. to ὄπου?

14 For εἰ δὲ μή as a self-standing protasis cf. SB III 6299. 3.

16 λόγος: cf. e.g. SB x 10293. 23.

20 ff. The mention of the *archieus* poses the question: is the circumcision of the writer's children possibly the issue? But that implies a change of subject-matter from the first half of the letter, far from certain. The misdoings of the first half (e.g. βεβαστάχατε, 11) may have had to do with temple property. For the *archieus* see P. J. Parsons, *CE* 49 (1974) 135-57.

28 For the absence of pronoun from the closing greeting see F. Ziemann, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis*, 336 n. 1.

29 Between ἀπό and Ἀρ[β]α[ίθο]υ a cross in the form of four oblique lines nearly converging at a centre, perhaps marking the point where a seal was affixed: cf. Ziemann, op cit. 282. The centre of the cross is missing, as often. See XLVIII 3396 32 n.

3507. APOLLONIUS TO SARAPODORUS

12 1 B. 139/E(b)

13 × 30.5 cm.

Third/fourth century

This letter is mainly concerned with matters of business, both municipal and commercial. In the first part of the letter Sarapodorus is asked, presumably in his capacity as exegetes, to look out for the interests of one Andromachus when the βουλή comes to apportioning days of duty among the panel of gymnasiarchs. On the municipal βουλαί and their functions see E. P. Wegener, *Mnemosyne* 1 (1948) 15-42, 115-32, 297-326; *Symbolae Van Oven*, 160-90; A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*; and A. H. M. Jones, *CERP*², 484-5 n. 40.

After dealing with commercial matters relating to wine and carpets the letter takes up the subject of an appeal made in connexion with the office of the *procurator usiacus*. It may well be that, besides their municipal responsibilities, the brothers also had a responsibility to the central government as *μικθωταὶ οὐσιακοί*, see 32 n.

There are three main indications of the approximate date; the appearance of the *procurator usiacus*, the reference to 'new' coinage, and the price of wine. G. M. Parássoglou (*Imperial Estates*, 85) finds the latest reference to the *ratio usiaca* in A.D. 285 and concludes that it disappeared in the reforms of Diocletian. References to 'new' and 'old' coinage cover the period A.D. 266–302, see 31 n. The price of wine does not specify the quantity, but if it cost as much as 900 or 1,000 drachmas per ceramion, as seems likely, the date cannot be much, if at all, prior to A.D. 300.

χαίρε, κύριέ μου ἄδελφε *Καραπόδωρε*,
 Ἐπολλώνιος σε προσαγορεύω{ι}.
 ἐπιστολὴν Ἐνδρομάχου ἔπεμψά σοι
 ὅπως ἀναδῶς καὶ τὴν ἀντιγραφὴν
 5 ἐν τάχει ἡμῖν πέμψῃς. ἢ δὲ ἀξίως
 αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ τηρηθῆναι αὐ-
 τῷ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς ἀναδοχῆς τῆ[ς
 γυμνασιάρχ[ί]α[ς], καί, εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε
 ἐστίν, [[τ]]ᾶς ἐκ περισσοῦ ἡμέρας ἡναγ-
 10 κάσθη ποιῆσα[ι] π[έ]ρυσι, παραδεχθῆ-
 ναι αὐτῷ εἰς [τὰς ἐ]φετίους μὴ ὀκνή-
 σῃς. εἰ δὲ μή γε, κἄν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν
 τηρηθῆναι τὸ ψήφισμα. τοῦτο
 γὰρ καὶ δικαιοτάτον. ὁ Ἄχιλλεὺς περὶ
 15 τοῦ οἴνου οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐνήργησεν
 οὔτε ἀπήτησεν. ἐδόκει δὲ χαράσσεσ-
 θαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ. ἢ τιμὴ τοῦ οἴνου
 ἐνταῦθα πάνυ ἐν κατυφέσει ἐστίν.
 μέχρι γὰρ (δραχμῶν) Ἄ καὶ ἄ τυγχάνει, ὥστε,
 20 εἰ δυνατόν σοί ἐστιν Ἄλέξανδρον
 τὸν Ἀκωρείτ[η]ν ἀξιώσ[αι] ὅπως
 διὰ πλοίου αὐτ[ο]ῦ . . ἢ σῃ [μ]οι ἐνε-
 χθῆναι κἄν [ὄ]σον ἔαν [ε]ῦρησ
 εἰς ἃ γράφεις, ἠπο[ί]ησον. ο[ί] μέντοι Ἄντινοῖτι-

25 κοὶ ἐκδοχεῖς ἐπ[ε]τάξαντό μοι ὅτι,
 ἢ συνωνούμεθα τὰ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 τιμῆς ἢ ἀποφέρομεν τῷ ἀδελ-
 φῷ σου αὐτά'. τοὺς τάπητας ἐξέ-
 δωκα. ὁ γὰρ σημιογράφος οὐκ ἔ-
 30 δωκέν μοι τ[ά]πητα. ὑπέσχετο
 μέντοι δώσε[ι]ν μοι (δραχμὰς) ρ̄. καινοῦ.
 εἰδέναι μέντοι ὀφείλεις ὅτι
 προσελθεῖν [c]ε δεῖ ἕνεκεν τῆς ἐκ-
 κλήτου πρὸ τῆ[ς] προθεσμίας κατὰ
 35 τὸ διάταγμα. [ε]στιν τῆς οὐσιακῆ[ς]
 ἐπιτροπῆς ὀφφικιάλιος ἐνθάδε
 ζητῶν πρ[ό]στιμον ἐκκλήτων,

Left margin, downwards:

ὅς καὶ ἡμεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ ἕνεκεν τῆς τότε πρὸς τὸν οὐσιακὸν περὶ χειρογρ(αφ-)
 (ταλάντων) ζ' καὶ μέχρι νῦν

πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδέπω οὐδὲν ἐπράξαμεν, ἐὰν δέ τι καινότερον πραχθῆ,
 δηλωθήσεταιί σοι. ἀσπά-

40 ζεταί σε τὰ τεκνία ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἡμῶν πάντες. ἐρρώσθαι
 σε εὔχομαι, κύριέ μου.

Back, downwards:

Σαραποδώρωι (design) ἐξηγητῆ
 π(αρά) Ἀπολλωνίου.

5 l. ἡμῶν 10-11 παραδεχ'θῆναι 11 l. ἐπετείου 18 l. καθυφέσει 19 ζ'Α
 21 l. Ἀκωρίτην 24-5 αντινοϊτικοί 31 ρ̄. 38 l. ἡμῶν; χειρογρς 42 π'

'Greetings, my lord brother Sarapodorus. I, Apollonius, salute you. I have sent Andromachus' letter to you so that you may present it and send us the reply quickly. His request is about having the decree on the undertaking of the gymnasiarchy observed in his case. Also, if it is possible, do not hesitate to have the extra days which he was compelled to serve last year credited to him towards those of the present year, but if not that, at any rate to have the decree observed from now on. For this is indeed the most just course.

Achilles has neither taken any action about the wine nor has he exacted any payment. But it was decided to make a written contract(?) in respect of this (i.e. wine?). The price of wine here is very much in decline. For it is as low as 1,000 or 900 drachmas, so that, if it is possible for you to ask Alexander the Acorite to have(?) as much as you can find brought for me on his boat to the places you mention in your letter, do so. However, the middlemen from Antinoopolis have given me their instructions as follows, "We either buy up your goods at the same price or we return them to your brother".

I gave the carpets out. For the shorthand writer did not give me a carpet. However, he promised to give me ninety-... drachmas of new coinage.

However, you ought to know that you must go before the tribunal about the appeal before the end of the appointed time according to the ordinance. There is an official of the department of the *procurator usiacus* here seeking the deposit for appeals, who is also pestering us about the former (appeal) against(?) the procurator concerning the contract(s?) for six talents, and up to now we have not taken any action regarding him, but if anything new is done, you will be informed. Our children and their mother and all our household greet you. I pray that you are well, my lord.'

Back. 'To Sarapodorus, exegetes, from Apollonius.'

1-2 For the opening formula see F. X. J. Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography*, 35-6, 60-8, 74-5.

No Sarapodorus is listed as a bouleutes in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, App. 1, but one has appeared subsequently in XLIII 3110 2 (c. A.D. 253-7). That man, Aurelius Apollonius alias Sarapodorus, could possibly be identified with either of the correspondents here, or might be a member of the same family. Note that there is also an Ἀνδρομαχ. [in 3110 11, see here 3 n.

Although XXXVI 2768 also mentions an Apollonius and an Achilles, the names are common ones and we cannot suppose a connexion.

3 No Andromachus is listed in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*. Cf. 1-2 n.

4 ἀναδῶς. Possibly the letter was to be delivered to the boule or to the prytanis for tabling on the agenda of the boule. As exegetes Sarapodorus may have had a particular interest in and responsibility for the smooth running of the gymnasiarchy, cf. I 54, in which contractors apply for reimbursement for repairs done on the baths to the exegetes as well as the gymnasiarch (see P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 309-12), or XXXI 2569, where exegetae are responsible for supervising the provision of water to the baths (cf. VI 891). P. Ryl. II 77, in which an exegetes and gymnasiarch jointly sign a letter to the strategus, is probably not helpful in this connexion; as the editors point out (52 n.), they are acting as representatives of the whole κοινόν, not as officials jointly responsible for a particular administrative area.

On the other hand Sarapodorus may be expected to act on Andromachus' behalf simply because he is a friend who could be influential; for a good parallel for the exegetes upholding the rights of a liturgist in a council meeting cf. XII 1415 i 20 seqq.

5-13 The gymnasiarchy became a shared liturgy in the second century and remained so until the end of the third century, when it rapidly declined in importance as an office (B. Van Groningen, *Le Gymnasiarque*, 86-101, *Actes du V^e Congrès Int. de Papyrologie*, 505-11). It was one of the duties of the boule to apportion days of service among the college of gymnasiarchs (A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 109-21; cf. XXXVI 2796 - contributions by several gymnasiarchs to the cost of heating the baths). On the rôle of the gymnasium see F. Delorme, *Gymnasium* (Paris, 1960), 421-80, especially 430 seqq., with *JEA* 47 (1961) 144 n. 26 for corrections to the Egyptian evidence.

8-9 εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε ἐστίν. The words seem to indicate that for a gymnasiarch to carry over days of service from one year of office to the next was possible but not assured. XII 1413 19-24 may represent another instance of such a carrying over; a gymnasiarch who was to have provided oil on 30 Mesore failed to do so but made up for it by paying for oil for the following 1 Thoth. It is not known though whether his year of office was coterminous with the calendar year. Van Groningen, op. cit. sect. 28, believed that the liturgist's year of service regularly began and ended at the same time as the calendar year, but N. Lewis, *Proc. IX Int. Congr. Papyrol.* 239-42 and *TAPA* 100 (1969) 255-60, has now shown that this was not always the case.

10-11 π]έρυσι... εἰς [τὰς ἐ]φετίους (= ἐπετείους). Andromachus was therefore gymnasiarch for at least two successive years, although he would have been in office for only a few days in each year. This situation was not unusual in the third century, cf. XII 1418 15 n.

παραδεχ'θῆναι. For the apostrophe used to separate consonants see E. Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, 62 and E. G. Turner, *GMAW* 13 n. 3.

16-17 The meaning of the sentence ἐδόκει... ἐπὶ τούτῳ remains obscure. The translation offers what is only a guess. Mr Parsons suggests instead, 'He seemed to be getting annoyed about it'. Cf. LSJ s.v. χαράσσω 1 3.

18 καταφέσει (= καθυφέσει). The word is rare and new in the papyri. For the false aspiration see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 133-8.

19 The prices are probably those of a standard jar (κεράμιον). Third-century prices listed in

A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 315 (cf. 466), are generally much lower, say c. 50 dr. per ceramion. Fourth-century prices show a rapid rise, see A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt*, 178–80; *ZPE* 24 (1977) 116–17, though there are very few examples of wine prices from the early part of the century. Some time in the reign of Diocletian, A.D. 284–305, seems suitable.

21 On Acoris see now M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, 291–6.

22 .ήση. We expect προήση, see translation, but the remains of a horizontal below the base line suggest only xi as the first or second letter. It may be stray ink, or part of an interlinear insertion.

25 ἐκδοχεῖς. The meaning of this term is discussed by P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, II 319–20, n. 428, but their function is still not clear. For a connexion with the marketing of wine cf. XIV 1673 7–10.

28 τάπητας. On carpets and carpet making in Egypt see T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes*, 121, S. Calderini in *Aeg.* 26 (1946) 13–83, E. Wipszyska, *L'Industrie textile*, 118–19.

28–29 ἐξέδωκα. He may mean, 'I gave out to contract'. In XXXI 2593 17 the word is used of sending out wool to be spun.

30–1 It might be better to expand to (δραχμῶν) rather than (δραχμάς) and translate, 'However, he promised to give me (sc. a carpet) of the value of ninety-... drachmas'.

31 καινοῦ (sc. νομίματος). For dated instances of this coinage, ranging from A.D. 266 to 302, see L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency*, 69, and add XXXVI 2587 and 2600.

32–9 The involvement of the correspondents with the *ratio usiaca* (on which see W. Grz. 153–8, A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 482, S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 338–9, and most lately G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates*, esp. 84–90) may be best explained by the hypothesis that they have contracted with the treasury to undertake the cultivation of usiac land as *μισθωταὶ οὔσιακοί*.

33 On the legal meaning of *προσελθεῖν*, 'appear before a tribunal', see XXXI 2601 9 n.

33–4 τῆς ἐκκλήτου (sc. δίκης). According to R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 521–2, the term is used only of appeals to the prefect, with the exception of IX 1204, an appeal to the catholicus.

37 πρ[ός]τιμον ἐκκλήτων. Cf. CPR v 5. 3 n., where it is suggested that it is a deposit or surety rather than a fine.

38 ἔνεκεν τῆς τότε πρὸς τὸν οὔσιακόν. It seems clear that ἐκκλήτου is to be understood with τῆς. The phrase ἐκκαλεῖσθαι πρὸς (τὴν) ἀπόφασιν (XLIII 3117 21, P. Beatty Panop. 1. 272–3) suggests that the appeal was 'against' the procurator rather than 'to' him, see CPR v 5. 10 n.

χειρογρ(αφ —). Probably this refers to a contract or contracts for leasing usiac property. Six talents (36,000 dr.) may be the value of the contract, but it is not a very large sum if 1,000 dr. is a low price for one ceramion of wine, see 19 and n., so that it may rather be the amount of the deposit, cf. CPR v 5. 3 n.

41 The design, which probably indicated the place of a seal, is in essence a square box with diagonals. The ink is missing from the area where the diagonals should have intersected. See XLVIII 3396 33 n. for a possible explanation; cf. 3506 29 n.

41–2 Line 41 is in a good large cursive, 40 in a small rapid one. It looks as if they are by different writers, but it would be more normal for the address to be written by one person only.

VIII.
TEXTS FIRST PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE

3508. Oath of a Dike Overseer, published by R. Hübner in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 43–53, with Tafel II. 50 4B. 24/B (3–4)a. 15·9 × 37·2 cm. 16 April A.D. 70. The back is blank.

Τιβερ[ίω] Κλαυδίω Ἡ[ρώ]δῃ στρατη[γῶ] Ὀξυρυγχι(ίτου).
Διογέν[ης Δ]ιογένους τοῦ Σαραπίωνος τῶν [ἄ]π' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλ(εως)
ἐξ ἐπιστ[ολ]ῆς Ἰουλίου Λυσιμάχου τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ καθε-
[σ]ταμένο[σ] χωματεπιμελητῆς δημοσίων χωμάτων
 5 *μέσης τοπαρχίας ἀντὶ Θεογένους τοῦ Θεογένους ἀπολελυ-*
μένου ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰουλίου Λυσιμάχ[ο]υ, ὁμνύω τὴν τοῦ
[Α]ὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τύχην καὶ
[τ]οὺς πατέρας θεοὺς προσθήσεσθαι τῆς τῶν χωμάτων
[ἐ]πιμελείας καὶ μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα πρὸς
 10 *[τ]ὴν ἀπεργασίαν διατεταγμένους ἢ καὶ διαταγχομένους*
[ἄ]νδρας ποιῆσειν ἀπεργάσασθαι ἕκαστον τὰ αἰρούντα αὐ-
[τ]ῷ ναύβια τῷ καθήκοντι ξύλῳ, πώρρω τῶν χω-
[μ]άτων τὴν ἀναβολὴν ποιουμένους πρὸ πηχῶν δέκα
[ὀ]κτώ πρὸς τὰ χῶματα ἀπεργασθῆναι καὶ στεγνω-
 15 *[θ]ῆναι ὡς [καθ]ήκε[ι], ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῆς ὑδροφυλακίας*
[τ]ὴν [π]ροσῆ[κ]ουσιν [ἐ]πιμέλειαν ποιῆσασθαι καὶ τοὺς διατα-
[γ]ησομέν[ο]υς ἄνδρας ἐπαναγκάσειν τὰ καθήκοντα τῆς
[ὑ]δροφ[υλα]κίας ἔργ[α] ἐπιτελέσαι π. . . τω . . . ε. ωνε. ων
[. . .] . . . [± 11 letters] τα. [.] . . . [. . .] ἕκαστον χῶμα
 20 *. ω [± 15] [. . .] . . . αδ . . . ο [. . .]*
[. . .] . η [.] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . .
[. . .] ος . . [.] . [.] . ελω [. . .] . [. . .] . . . [.] . . . [. .]
[τ] ῆς χωμα[ατεπιμελ]ητείας [.] . . . [. . .]
[. .] . ες [.] . ω . . α [.] . ςης μου [τῆ] ς διοικήσεως
 25 *[κ] αὶ τοῦ ἰδ[ίου λόγου], ἐπιτελῶν ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς χωματεπιμε-*
[λ] ητείας ὅ[ν τ]ρόπον καθήκει, τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι, ὧν τὸ κα-
[θ ' ἐ] ν ὑπόκ[ει]ται παρακειμένης τῆς κατ' εἰκασίαν συντιμήσεως,

[ύ]πενγύω[ν ὄν]των καὶ ὧν ἐὰν ἐπικτήσωμαι, εἶναι δὲ τὸ καθ' ἑν
 [τ]ῶν εἰς τῆς ξηρασίας ἡμέραν ὑπαρχόντων μοι· (vac.)
 30 πὲρὶ κώμην Σενεκελεὺ ἕκ το(ῦ) Σώσου καὶ Ἀγάθωνος κλή(ρου)
 [σι]τικ(ῶν) ἀρο(υρῶν) ιε· (τάλαντου) α, καὶ ἐκ Καπιστοτέλους καὶ Διοφάντου
 [ἀ]πὸ ἐκπροθέσμου κυγγραφής ἀρο(υρῶν) η· (δραχμῶν) Ἐφ, καὶ ἔχω
 (τάλαντα) β (δραχμας) Ἰ
 [ἐ]φ' ὑπάρχουσι Σαραπίωνος καὶ Πτολεμαίου ἀμφοτέρων Σαραπίω(νος)
 [ἀ]φηλίκων πρότερον το(ῦ) πατρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ Θεώνος ἀδελφοῦ
 35 αὐτοῦ· (vac.) γίνεται ἐπὶ τὸ α(ὐτὸ) ἀργ(υρίου) (τάλαντα) γ καὶ (δραχμαὶ)
 Ἐφ. εὐορκοῦν-
 τι μὲν μοι εὐ εἶη, ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία. (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος
 [Κ]αίσαρος Οὐσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Φαρμουῦθι κᾱ Σεβαστῆ.

1 οξυρυγ^χ 2 πο^λ 6 I. ὀμνύω 12 I. πόρρω 14 I. ὀκτώ 19 offset or correction above c
 30 ἰ κλ^η 31 [σι]τικ^ι ἀρῶ π = (τάλαντα), equally lines 32, 35 κ of ἐκ raised 32 ἀρῶ ς = (δραχμαὶ),
 equally line 35 33 σαραπι^ω 34 τ^ο 35 ᾱ ἀργ̄

Three small fragments with parts of letters remain unplaced.

‘To Tiberius Claudius Herodes, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. I, Diogenes, son of Diogenes the son of Sarapion, resident of the city of Oxyrhynchus, appointed as overseer of the dikes of the Middle Toparchy by a letter of Iulius Lysimachus, head of the Idios Logos, in place of Theogenes, son of Theogenes who has been released by the same Iulius Lysimachus, swear by the fortune of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus and my ancestral gods that I shall manage the supervision of the dikes and shall with all diligence cause each of the men who are or will be assigned in this connexion to the work of restoration to discharge the naubia incumbent upon him according to the proper measure, that I shall furthermore cause those who effect the construction of the dikes to do it over a distance of eighteen cubits so that the dikes are built and made watertight as is proper, that I shall in the same manner give the proper care to the guarding of the irrigation and shall compel the men who will be appointed to accomplish the proper work of the guarding of the irrigation...each dike... .of the Financial Department and the Idios Logos, completing everything which bears on the overseeing of the dikes in the proper manner, with my property, of which a detailed list follows below whereto an estimated valuation is attached, as security, as well as whatever I shall acquire in addition, and that the detailed list of my property up to the present day is: in the village of Senekelou from the holding of Sosos and Agathon 15 arouras of grain land: 1 talent, and from the holding of Kapistoteles and Diophantes from an overdue contract 8 arouras: 2,500 drachmae, and I possess 2 talents 3,000 drachmae secured on the property of Sarapion and Ptolemaios, both sons of Sarapion, minors, formerly belonging to their father and his brother Theon; altogether this makes 3 silver talents and 5,500 drachmae. If I observe the oath may it be well with me, but if I swear falsely, the reverse. In the 4th year of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, 21 Pharmouthi, dies Augusta.

3509. Plato, *Republic*, I 330 a2–b4. Published by R. Hübner in *ZPE* 30 (1978) 195–8, with Tafel VI. 16 2B. 47/D(a). 9.3 × 29.8 cm. Third century A.D. The fragment has the top, foot and ends of 30 lines of a single column in a well-made Biblical Uncial hand. It has been collated with the texts of J. Burnet (Oxford, 1905) and E. Chambry (Paris, 1932, collection Budé). The back and the upper and lower margins were used subsequently for an account, see **3511** below.

[ονομα|ς]τος εγενετο ουτ ε 330a
 [κ]εινος Αθηναιος
 [κ]αι τοις δη μη πλου
 [σι]οις χαλεπως δε
 5 [το] γηρας φερουσιν
 [ε]ν χει ο αυτος λο
 γος· οτι ουτ' αν επι
 ξικης πανυ ραιδι
 [ω]ς γηρας μετα πε
 10 νιας ενεγκοι ουθ' ο
 [μ]ητε επιεικης πλου
 [τ]ησας ευκολος πο
 [τ α]ν ε'ν' αυτω γενοι
 [το π]οτερο[ν] δε ην
 15 [δ εγ]ω{ι} ω Κεφαλε ων
 [κεκ]τησαι τα πλει
 [ω πα]ρελαβες η επε
 [κτης]ω· ποι επεκτη
 [σαμ]ην εφη ω σω 330b
 20 [κρατες μ]εσος τις
 [γεγονα] χρηματι
 [στης τ]ου τε παπ
 [που και τ]ου πατρος·
 [ο μεν γα]ρ παππος
 25 [τε και ο]μωνυμος
 [εμοι σχεδο]ν τι ο
 [σην εγω ν]υν ουσι
 [αν κεκτ]ημαι πα
 [ραλαβω]ν πολλακις
 30 [τοσαυ]την εποιη

7 Burnet, Chambry: *ό* after *αν*. 8 Burnet, Chambry: *πάνυ τι* 11 [μ]ητε: Burnet, Chambry
μή. Scribe's error, probably influenced by line 10 *ούθ'* 13 ε'ν' αυτω: Burnet, Chambry *έαυτῶ*. Stob.
έν έαυτῶ (Chambry, app.). The scribe apparently corrected his first version *έαυτῶ* into *έν άυτῶ*.

3510. Notice of the deaths of slaves. Published by R. Hübner in *ZPE* 30 (1978) 198–200, with Tafel VIIA. 20 3 B. 34/B (1–3)a. 9.5 × 19.7 cm. A.D. 79/80. The back is blank.

Ἀπολλοφάνει καὶ Διογένει γρα(μματεῦσι) πόλεως
 παρὰ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀπίωνος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀ-
 ξυρύγχων πόλεως. οἱ ἀπογραφόμενοι
 ἐφ' ἧς ἔχω οἰκίας ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Λυκίων
 5 παρεμβολῆς Ἀμαραντὸς δούλος τοῦ
 ἀδελφοῦ μου Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Διογένη(ς)
 δούλος τῆς γυναικός μου Βερενείκης
 τῆς Βιθαρίωνος ἀφῆλιξ ἀμφότεροι
 ἄτεχνοι ἐτελεύτησαν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι
 10 ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, καὶ ὀμνύω
 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Οὐεσπασιανὸν
 Σεβαστὸν ἐπ' ἀληθείας αὐτοὺς τετελευ-
 τηκέναι ὡς πρόκειται. ἀξιῶ οὖν
 15 ἀναγράψεσθαι τούτους ἐν τῇ τάξει
 τῶν τετε[λ]ευτηκότων τοῦ αὐ[τ]οῦ
 ἔτους ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν [ὁ]μοίων.

(m. 2) Διογένη[ς σεε]ημ(είωμαι). (ἔτους) ια Αὐτοκ[ρ]άτο[ρ]ο[ς]
 Κ[αίσαρος Οὐεσπ]ασιανοῦ
 20 [Σεβαστοῦ month] δ̄.

1 γρ⁴ 6 διογεν⁷; ε in corr. 7 Βερ corr. from Πρ 11 l. ὀμνύω after ομνυωι horizontal stroke to fill the line 14 after ουν horizontal stroke to fill the line 15 τούτους: first τ corr. from α.

'To Apollophanes and Diogenes, city scribes, from Herodes, son of Apion, from the city of Oxyrhynchus. The slaves registered at the house I have in the Lycians' Camp quarter, Amarantos, slave of my brother Herakleides, and Diogenes, slave of my wife Berenike, daughter of Bitharion, minor, both without a trade, died in the present eleventh year of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, and I swear by Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus that they are in truth dead as aforesaid. I request therefore that you inscribe them in the list of those who have died in the same year as in like cases. (2nd hand) I, Diogenes [have certified] in the 11th year of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus [month, day].'

3511. Private Account. Published by R. Hübner in *ZPE* 30 (1978) 200–4, with Tafel vii b. 16 2B. 47/D(a). 9.3 × 29.8 cm. First half of fourth century A.D. The account occupies the back and the top and bottom margin of 3509.

	Col. i		Col. ii
	. . . . .		Ἀπολλωνίου εἰς λόγ[ον
	]ε		Κολλουθέους .ις[
	].		Σιλβανού ὀνηλά[του
	].		Παθερμουτίου α[
	].	15	(vac.) καλαμιά[
5	]β		Παθατρῆτι α[
	]γ		τιμῆς ζευκτη[ριῶν
	]γ		Ἀπολλωνίου εἰ[ς λόγον
	] . . . . υ		Παθερμουτίου υ[
	]α	20	(vac.) καλαμ[ία
10	] τοῦ πλήου		καταβωλῆς κ[
	}		[. .]ησίου κατα.[
			Παησίου ὑπὲρ τιμ[ῆς
			κοφωρία καλαμ[ίας
		25	(vac.) σκάπτοντα ε[
			κοφωρία καὶ α[
			ὀνηλάται ιη[κκ[
			παραχαραξος κ[
			τιμῆς ἥλος ἐχυσια[ίος
		30	τιμῆς λυνοκαλάμ[ης
			Θράσωνι ἀγρ[ο]φύλ[ακι
			τιμῆς ταπητ[ί]ων [
			φώρου πωμαρίων [
			τιμῆς βουός [

A (Text on the bottom margin of 3509):

35 λόγος πρ[
 μεταφωρ[ᾱς
 τιμῆς οἴνου
 τιμῆς οἴνο[υ

B (Text on the top margin of 3509):

].αησις χαλγισα[
 40]α παρ' ἐμοῦ [. . .][
]ας διὰ ημ[
]νιου ρίνου διαχε.ουελ[
] ὀνὶ στήμων (δραχμαὶ) φ[

10 l. πλοίου(?). A curved vertical stroke below the last line 12-15 two deleted letters above
 the line beginnings 13 l. ὀηλά[του 18 ἀπολλωνιοῦ 19 ὕ[21 l. καταβολῆς 23 ὑπερ
 24 l. χωφορία 26 l. χωφορία 27 l. ὀηλάται 29 l. ἐκχυσια[ίος 33 l. φόρου 34 l. βοός(?)
 36 l. μεταφορ[ᾱς 43 l. ὀνὶ στήμονος(?)

3512. Sale of wine. Published by R. Hübner in *ZPE* 30 (1978) 205-7, with Tafel
 VIIIa, b. 14 I B. 209/C (f). 15.6 × 29.8 cm. 27 February A.D. 492.

† Μετ[ὰ τ]ὴν ὑπατείαν Φλα(ουίου) Λογγίνου τοῦ λαμπρο(οτάτου) τὸ β/
 Φαμενῶ(θ) β ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιε ἐν Ὁξυρυγ(ων).

Φλ[α(ουίω) Ἰ]ωάννη τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ πολιτευομένῳ
 υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης Μαρτυρίου(υ)
 5 γεουχ[ο]ῦντι ἐνταῦθα τῇ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν Αὐρήλιος
 Πανεχώτης υἱὸς Μουσήτος μητρὸς Ἄννας
 ἀπὸ ἐποικείου Ἰππονάμου κτήμ[α]τος τῆς
 σῆς εὐγενείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ ἐναπόγραφος
 χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ ἐντεῦθεν
 10 τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμπεφωνημέν[η]ν
 καὶ ἀρέσασάν μοι τιμὴν πλήρης οἴν[ο]υ ση-
 κωμάτων τῷ γεουχικῷ σηκώ[ματ]ι ἐξήκοντα
 τρία, γί(νεται) οἴν(ου) σηκ(ωμάτων) ξγ, ὄνπερ οἴνον παρὰ ληνὸν
 ἀπὸ γλαύκου ἀδόλου σου παρέχοντος τὰ
 15 κοῦφα ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσω τῇ σῇ εὐγενείᾳ
 ἐν τῷ Μεσορῆ μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ρξη ρλζ
 ἐκ ῥύσεως οἴνου τῆς σὺν θεῷ πρώτης

ἰνδικτίονος ἀνυπερθέτως, γιγνομένης σοι
 τῆς εἰσπράξεως παρά τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
 20 | μοι πάντων. κύριον τὸ γραμματίον ἀπλοῦν
 γραφὲν καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολ(όγησα). (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος
 Πανεχώσιος υἱὸς Μουσήτος ὁ προκείμενος
 ἔσχον τὴν τιμὴν πλήρης οἴνου σηκωμάτων
 ἐξήκοντα τρία καὶ ἀποδώσω ἐν τῇ προθεσ-
 25 μί[α] καὶ συμφωνί μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Αὐρήλιος
 Παπνούθιος Φοιβάμμωνος ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότης.
 (m. 3) ✠ δι' ἐμοῦ . . . εου . . .

Back (m. 4) ✠ γρ(αμματεῖον) Πανεχώτο(υ) υἱοῦ Μουσήτος ἀπὸ
 ἐποικ(ίου) Ἰππονάμου οἴν(ου) σηκ(ωμάτων) ξγ †

1 ὑπ-λαμπρ/ 2 ἰνδ/ 3]ωαννη 6 υἱος 7 l. ἐποικίου ἱπ'ποναμου, ου (in correction) has
 larger letters in a brownish ink 13 γι/ οινς 14 l. γλεύκουσ 18 ἰνδ- ανῦπερ- 20 l. γραμμα-
 τεῖον 21 ὠμολ/ 21-2 a paragraphus on the left side between the two lines marks the beginning of
 the signature 25 l. συμφωνεῖ προκ/ 29 γρ/ πανεχωτοῦ υἱου εποικ/ ἱπ'ποναμου οιν' σηκ/

'In the year after the second consulship of the most illustrious Flavius Longinus, Phamenoth 2, 15th indiction at Oxyrhynchus. To Flavius Johannes, the venerable member of the council, son of Martyrios of revered memory, landholder here at Oxyrhynchus, Aurelios Panechotes, son of Mouses and Anna, from the hamlet of Hipponamos, of the estate of your nobility in the same nome and there registered, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you on the spot the price jointly agreed upon and accepted by me, in full, of sixty-three sekomata of wine measured by the estate-sekoma, total 63 sekomata of wine. I shall be bound to deliver this wine to your nobility at the wine-press in the form of unadulterated must, you providing the jars, in the month Mesore of the present year 168 = 137 from the wine-pressing of the, D.V., first indiction without delay, you having the right of execution upon me and all my property. This bond, of which a single copy is made, is valid, and having been asked I have given my consent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelios Panechosios, son of Mouses, the aforesaid, have received the price in full of sixty-three sekomata of wine and shall deliver at due term and I agree to everything as aforesaid. I, Aurelios Papnouthios, son of Phoibammon, have written on request for him since he is illiterate.'

(3rd hand) 'By me,'

(Back, 4th hand) 'Contract of Panechotes, son of Mouses, from the hamlet of Hipponamos, about 63 sekomata of wine.'

3513-3521. Orders to issue wheat and wine. Published by S. A. Stephens in *ZPE* 31 (1978) 145-60. 27 3B.42/F (3)a-c, (4)a-b. May A.D. 260 01 A.D. 282.

3513

27 3B.42/F (3)b

11.2 × 9.4 cm.

25 May

Χ Νεμεσιανὸς Σεουήρω χαίρειν.

δὸς Σιλβανῶ φροντιστῆ ἔϊς λόγον ἔργων

τοῦ Παχῶν μηνὸς οἴνου γενήμ(ατος) ζ (ἔτους) κτήματος

Κολλούθου λη(νοῦ) β κερ(άμια) ις καὶ πυροῦ γενήμ[α]τος

5 ε (ἔτους) (ἀρτάβας) ιβ ὦν τὰς τιμὰς ἐπεστάλη Σαραπιάδης

ὁ χειριστῆς λημματίσαι τοῦ μὲν οἴνου

ὡς τ(οῦ) κερ(αμίου) α (δραχμὰς) ιβ, τοῦ δὲ πυροῦ ὡς τῆς (ἀρτάβης)

α (δραχμὰς) ις.

(m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ δὸ(ς) τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δεκαδύο

καὶ οἴνου κεράμια δεκαέξι, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ κ(εράμια) ις.

10 (ἔτους) ζ" Παχῶν λ'.

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Give Silvanus, the *φροντιστής*, for work for the month of Pachon, 16 ceramia of 6th-year wine from Collouthus' plot, from the 2nd wine vat, and 12 artabas of 5th-year wheat, the price of which Sarapiades the *χειριστής* has been ordered to credit as: wine at 12 drachmas/ceramion; wheat at 16 drachmas/artaba. (2nd hand) Farewell and hand over the twelve artabas of wheat and sixteen ceramia of wine, that is, 12 art., 16 cer.

30 Pachon of the 7th year.'

3514

27 3B.42/F (3)c

10.8 × 12.4 cm.

25 May

Χ

Νεμεσιανὸς [Σε]ουήρ[ω] χαίρειν.

δὸς τοῖς ὑ[πο]γεγραμμένοις ὑπὲρ συντάξεως

τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Παχῶν Δωρᾶ παιδαρίω

(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α· Θρεπτῶ ἐτέρω (πυροῦ)

(ἀρτάβην) α,

5 οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α· Νεφερῶ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α·

Ἐρμερῶτι (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α· Νεικήτη (πυροῦ)

(ἀρτάβην) α,

οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α· Τυχάνω ἀπαιτητῆ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α,

οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α, καὶ ὑπ(ὲρ) πανηγύρεως Παχῶν τὸ ἕξ ἔ-

θους αὐτῶ διδό(μενον) κερ(άμιον) α· Ψεναμούνη ἀμπελο(υργῶν)

- 10 ἐπιστάτῃ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α· Ἐπίωνι προ-
νοητῇ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α· Ἀμμωνίῳ ὁμοίως
(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α· Cιλβανῶ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α,
οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α·
σεαυτῶ καὶ βοηθῶ σου (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) β, οἴνου
κερ(άμια) γ, ὄξους κερ(άμιον) α, καὶ ὑπ(ἐρ) πανηγ(ύρεως) Παχῶν κατὰ
15 συνήθ(ειαν) κερ(άμιον) α· τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) ε (ἔτους)
(ἀρτάβας) ιβ,
οἴνου γενήμ(ατος) ς (ἔτους) ἀπὸ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐμπόρων κτήμ(ατος) Μαγδώλου κερ(άμια) ιε, ὄξους κερ(άμιον) α.
- (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ δὸς τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας
δεκαδύο καὶ οἴνου κεράμια δεκαπέν-
20 τε καὶ ὄξους κεράμιον ἕν, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ,
κ(εράμια) ιε, ὄξ(ους) α'. (ἔτους) ζ" Παχῶν λ'.

9 διδο⁻ 14 πανηγ^γ 15 συνη^θ 21 ο^ξ

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Give to the below-listed as an allowance for the present month of Pachon: to Doras, the slave, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Threptus, another (slave), 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Nephros, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Hermeros, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Neicetes, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Tychanus, the collector, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine and on behalf of the festival in Pachon, the 1 cer. customarily supplied to him; to Psenamunis, the foreman of vinedressers, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Apion, the *προνοητής*, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Ammonius, likewise, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Silvanus, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to yourself and your assistant, 2 art. of wheat, 3 cer. of wine, 1 cer. of sour wine and the usual 1 cer. on behalf of the festival in Pachon. The total is 12 art. of wheat of the 5th year; 15 cer. of wine of the 6th year from the Watchtower plot, out of that left over by the dealers, 1 cer. of sour wine.'

(2nd hand) 'Farewell and hand over the twelve artabas of wheat and fifteen ceramia of wine and one of sour wine, that is, 12 art., 15 cer. and 1 of sour wine. 30 Pachon of the 7th year.'

3515

27 3B.42/F (3)e

17.2 × 8 cm.

25 May

X

Νεμεσιανὸς Cεουήρω χαίρειν.
δὸς Ἐπίωνι προνοητῇ βορίων μερῶν εἰς τὰς δόσεις τῶν
ἀμπελ(ουργῶν) τῶν Παχῶν μηνὸς
καὶ εἰς δόσεις ὑδροπ(αρόχων) τοῦ ζ" (ἔτους) καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα τῆς
φροντίδος ἀναλώματα τοῦ Παχῶν
μην(ὸς) οἴνου γενήμ(ατος) ς" (ἔτους) κτήμ(ατος) Κολλούθου

λην(οῦ) β κερ(άμια) ρζ, γενήμ(ατος) ε" (ἔτους) κτήμ(ατος)
λιβικ(οῦ) λην(οῦ) δ⁻

- 5 διπ(λοκέραμα) ε ἀπλοκέρ(αμα) η ὦν τὰς τειμὰς ἐπεστάλη
Σαραπιάδης ὁ χειριστῆς λημ-
ματίσαι τοῦ μὲν ἀπὸ γενήμ(ατος) ζ" (ἔτους) οἴνου ὡς τ(οῦ)
κερ(αμίου) α (δραχμὰς) ιβ, τοῦ δὲ ἀπὸ γενήμ(ατος) ε"
(ἔτους) τοῦ μὲν

Παχ(ών) λ' κερ(αμίου) α (δραχμὰς) ιζ', τῶν δὲ διπ(λοκεράμων) ὡς τ(οῦ) α
(δραχμὰς) κδ. (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ δὸς τὰ τοῦ οἴνου κεράμια
[ἑκατὸ]ν πέντε διπλοκέραμα πέντε, (γίνεται) κ(εράμια) ρε
διπ(λοκέραμα) ε.
(ἔτους) ζ" Παχ(ών) λ'.

2 l. βορείων 5 l. τιμάς 7 (marg.) παλ' λ' 7 ις corrected from ιβ 7 and 8 δι'

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Give Apion the *προνοητής* of the Northern sections for the payments of the vinedressers for the month of Pachon and for the payments of the irrigators for the 7th year and for the other expenses of the care for the month of Pachon 97 ceramia of 6th-year wine from Collouthus' plot from the 2nd wine vat and 5 double ceramia, 8 single ceramia from the 5th-year crop from the Western plot from the 4th wine vat, the price of which Sarapiades the *χειριστής* has been ordered to credit as: 6th-year wine at 12 dr./cer.; 5th-year wine at 16 dr./cer. and 24 dr./double cer. (2nd hand) Farewell and hand over the one hundred and five ceramia of wine and five double ceramia, that is, 105 cer., 5 double cer.

30 Pachon of the 7th year.'

Pachon 30

3516

27 3B. 42/F (3)d

14.5 × 8.8 cm.

25 May

X Νεμεσιανὸς Σεουήρω χαίρειν.

δὸς Ἀμμωνίῳ φρον(τιστῆ) ἐνίων μερῶν Σούεως εἰς τὰς δόσεις
τῶν ἀμπελ(ουργῶν) καὶ τῶν ὑδροπ(αρόχων) τοῦ Παχ(ών) μην(ός)
καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα

τῆς φρον(τίδος) ἀναλώματα (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) δ" (ἔτους)
(ἀρτάβας) δ καὶ οἴνου γενήμ(ατος)

- 5 ζ" (ἔτους) κτήμ(ατος) λιβικ(οῦ) λην(οῦ) γ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπολιφθέντων
απα. () απολο-

γι. κερ(άμια) μζ ὦν τὰ[ς] τειμ(ὰς) ἐπ[εστά-]

λη Σαραπιάδης ὁ χειριστῆς λημ(ματίσαι) τοῦ μ[έ]ν (πυροῦ) ὡς
 τ(ῆς) α (δραχμὰς) ιβ
 Παχ(ών) λ' τοῦ δὲ οἴνου ὡς τ(οῦ) κερ(αμίου) (δραχμὰς) α (δραχμὰς) ιβ.
 (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ δὸς τὰς τ[ο]ῦ
 πυροῦ ἀρτάβας τέσσαρες καὶ οἴνου κεράμια τεσσα-
 10 ράκοντα ἕξ, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) μζ κ(εράμια) δ. (ἔτους)
 ζ" Παχών λ'.

2 and 4 φρο⁻ 5 l. ὑπολειφθέντων απα, 7 (marg.) πα^x λ' 7 λη^μ 8 α corrected from ιβ.

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Give Ammonius, φροντιστῆς of some sections of Souis, for the payments to the vinedressers and the irrigators for the month of Pachon and for the other expenses of the care 4 artabas of 4th-year wheat and 46 ceramia of 6th-year wine from the Western plot from the 3rd wine vat, out of the left-over...; the price of which Sarapiades the χειριστῆς has been ordered to credit as wheat at 16 dr./art., wine at 12 dr./cer. (2nd hand) Farewell and hand over the four artabas and forty-six ceramia, that is, 46 (sic) art. and 4 (sic) cer. 30 Pachon of the 7th year.'

3517

27 3B. 42/F (3) a

11.9 × 6.5 cm.

25 May

Χ Νεμεσιανὸς Σεουήρω χαίρειν.
 ὁ οἰνογεύστης μετέδωκεν τὰ τῆς Εὐβοίας
 οἰνάρια ἀνεπιτήδεια εἶναι· ἀπὸ τούτων οὖν
 ἀνάπεμψον διὰ Ἀράχθου ναυτικοῦ κεράμια
 5 διακόσια πενήκοντα, (γίνεται) κεράμια cv.
 (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ ἀνάπεμψον τὰ τοῦ οἴνου
 κεράμια διακόσια πενήκοντα, (γίνεται) κ(εράμια) cv.
 (ἔτους) ζ" Παχών λ'.

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

The winetaster has declared the Euboean wine to be unsuitable; so from this send up two hundred and fifty ceramia with the boatman Harachthes, that is 250 ceramia. (2nd hand) Farewell and send up the two hundred and fifty ceramia of wine, that is 250 cer. 30 Pachon of the 7th year.'

3518-3519

27 3B. 42/F (4)a

9.4 × 33.4 cm.

25 May

3518

Νεμεσιανὸς Σεουήρω χαίρ[ει]ν.
 δὸς τοῖς ὑπογεγραμμένοις κα[ταμη]-
 Χ νίοις καὶ ἄλλοις εἰς λόγον ὀψωνί[ω]ν
 τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Παχῶν Παμουῖνι
 5 ὀνηλάτῃ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμια) β· Ἀγάθῳ
 ἑτέρῳ ὁμοίως (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμια) β·
 Πανεχώτῃ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμια) β· Πετρω-
 νίῳ ζευγηλάτῃ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμια) β·
 Φαναμαί ἐποικιοφύλ(ακι) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) β· Ὀννώφρι
 10 ἑτέρῳ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) β· Διονυσίῳ ὁμοί(ως) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) β.
 τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος) ε (ἔτους)" (ἀρτάβαι) ι,
 οἴνου γενήμ(ατος) ζ (ἔτους) κτήματος Μαγδώλου
 ἀπὸ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἐμπόρων κερ(άμια) η ὦν τὴν
 15 συναγομένην τειμὴν ἐπεστάλ(η)
 Σαραπιάδῃς ὃ χειριστῆς λημ-
 ματίσαι τοῦ μὲν πυροῦ ὡς τῆς
 (ἀρτάβης) α (δραχμὰς) ις', τοῦ δὲ οἴνου ὡς τοῦ
 κεραμίου α (δραχμὰς) ιβ. (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ δὸς
 20 τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δέκα
 καὶ οἴνου κεράμια ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ι.
 κ(εράμια) η. (ἔτους) ζ" Παχῶν λ'.

2 and 13 ὑπ- 9 φαναμαῖ 15 1. τιμὴν ἐπεστα^λ 20 δυο deleted after δεκα

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Give to the below-listed monthly workers and others as salaries for the present month of Pachon to Pamunis the donkey driver, 1 art. of wheat, 2 cer. of wine; to Agathus, another (donkey driver) likewise, 1 art. of wheat, 2 cer. of wine; to Panechotes, 1 art. of wheat, 2 cer. of wine; to Petronius the teamster, 1 art. of wheat, 2 cer. of wine; to Phanamais the settlement guard, 2 art. of wheat; to Onnophris, another (settlement guard), 2 art. of wheat; to Dionysius, likewise, 2 art. of wheat. The total is 10 artabas of 5th-year wheat, 8 ceramia of 6th-year wine from the Watchtower plot out of those left over by the dealers, the price of which Sarapiades the χειριστῆς has been ordered to credit as 16 dr./art. of wheat, 12 dr./cer. for wine. (2nd hand) Farewell and hand over the ten artabas of wheat and eight ceramia of wine, that is 10 art. of wheat, 8 cer. 30 Pachon of the 7th year.'

3519

X Νεμεσιανὸς Σεουήρω χαίρειν.
 δὸς Κολλούθῳ κεραμεί εἰς λόγον
 δόσεως τοῦ ὄντ[ο]ς μηνὸς Παχῶν
 πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος) ε (ἔτους)" (ἀρτάβας) ιη καὶ
 5 οἴνου γενήμ(ατος) ζ (ἔτους)" κτήμ[ατ]ος Κολλούθου
 ληνοῦ β κερ(άμια) κδ ὦν τὴν συνα-
 γομένην τειμὴν ἐπεστάλη
 Σαραπιάδης ὁ χειριστῆς λημμα-
 τίσαι τοῦ μὲν πυροῦ ὡς τῆς (ἀρτάβης) α (δραχμὰς) ις,
 10 τοῦ δὲ οἴνου ὡς τοῦ κερ(αμίου) α (δραχμὰς) ιβ.
 (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ δ[ὸ]ς τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ
 ἀρτάβας δεκαοκτῶ καὶ οἴνου
 κεράμια εἴκοσι τέσσαρα,
 (ἔτους) ζ Παχῶν λ'.

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Give Collouthus the potter as payment for the present month of Pachon 18 artabas of 5th-year wheat and 24 ceramia of 6th-year wine from Collouthus' plot from the 2nd wine vat, the agreed-upon price of which Sarapiades the χειριστῆς has been ordered to credit as 16 dr./art. for wheat, 12 dr./cer. for wine. (2nd hand) Farewell and hand over the eighteen artabas of wheat and twenty-four ceramia of wine. 30 Pachon of the 7th year.'

3520–3521

27 3B. 42/F (4)b

28.7 × 9 cm.

16 May, 25 May

3520

X Νεμεσιανὸς Σεουήρω χαίρειν.
 παράδος Ἀμμωνᾶ γεουχοῦντι ἐν κώμη
 Σέσφα οἴνου γενήμ(ατος) ε (ἔτους) κτήματος λιβικοῦ ληνοῦ
 5 δ κεράμια εἴκοσι ἕξ καὶ διπλοκέραμα δεκαἕξ
 συμφωνηθ(έντα) πρὸς αὐτόν, τῶν μὲν κεραμίων
 ὡς τοῦ α (δραχμὰς) ις. τῶν δὲ διπλοκεράμων ὡς τοῦ
 ἐνὸς (δραχμὰς) κδ· ὦν πάντων τὴν συναγομ(ένην) τειμὴν
 ἐν δραχμαῖς ὀκτακοσίαις μετεβάλετο τῷ τῆς οὐσίας
 χειριστῆ. (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ παράδος τὰ τοῦ οἴνου
 10 κεράμια εἴκοσι ἕξ διπλοκέραμ(α) δεκαἕξ,
 (γίνεται) κ(εράμια) κς διπ(λοκέραμα) ις'. (ἔτους) ζ" Παχῶν κα.

5 συμφωνηθ^θ 7 συναγομ^μ 1. τιμὴν 10 διπλοκεραμ^μ 11 δι'

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Transfer to the farmer Ammonas in the village of Sespha the 26 ceramia and 16 double ceramia upon which agreement has been made with him, of 5th-year wine from the Western plot from the 4th wine vat, at a rate of 16 dr./cer. and 24 dr./double cer.; for all these he has paid the agreed-upon price to the χειριστής of the estate amounting to eight hundred drachmas. (2nd hand) Farewell and transfer the twenty-six ceramia, sixteen double ceramia, that is, 26 cer., 16 double cer. 21 Pachon of the 7th year.'

3521

Χ Νεμεσιανὸς Σεουήρω χαίρειν.
 τῶν πραθέντων ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀπὸ γενήματος ε (ἔτους) κτήμ(ατος)
 λιβικοῦ ληνοῦ δ κεραμίων κε καὶ διπλοκε-
 ράμων ζ τὴν τιμὴν μεταβαλοῦ Σαραπιάδη
 5 τῶ τῆς οὐσίας χειριστῆ τῶν μὲν κεραμ(ίων) κε ὡς τοῦ α⁻
 δραχμ(ὰς) δεκαέξι, τῶν δὲ διπλοκεράμων ὡς τοῦ α⁻
 δραχμ(ὰς) εἴκοσι τεσσάρων. (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ μεταβαλοῦ τὴν
 τιμὴν ὡς πρόκειται. (ἔτους) ζ" Παχῶν λ'.

4 l. τιμὴν 5 κερα^α 6 and 7 δραχ^α

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Pay Sarapiades the χειριστής of the estate the price of the 25 ceramia and 6 double ceramia of the 5th-year wine from the Western plot from the 4th wine vat sold by you at a rate of sixteen dr./cer. and twenty-four dr./double ceramia. (2nd hand) Farewell and pay the price as aforesaid. 30 Pachon of the 7th year.'

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. Square brackets indicate that a word is substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or symbol. The article and (in the documentary texts) *καί* are not indexed.

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

(a) NEW COMEDY AND MENANDER (3431–3433)

ἀγαθός [3433 17]
 ἀγανακτεῖν [3433 5]
 ἀγροεῖν 3433 20, 21?
 ἀδελφή 3431 2+3 3
 ἀεὶ 3431 2+3 4 3433 3
 ἀήρ 3433 7
 ἀκούειν 3432 4
 ἄλλος 3433 1?
 ἄμα 3432 3?
 ἀμείνων [3433 9]
 ἀνά [3433 18]
 ἄνθρωπος 3433 10
 ἀνοιγνύναι 3431 2+3 13
 ἄνπερ 3431 15
 ἄπιστος 3431 2+3 4?
 ἀποκλείειν 3431 2+3 10
 ἀπολ[3431 2+3 26
 ἀπολλύναι 3431 2+3 12 3433 16
 ἀπομύττειν 3431 2+3 20?, 21
 ἀπορεῖν 3432 13
 ἀρεστός 3431 2+3 4?
 ἄριστος 3431 2+3 4?
 ἀσθενής 3433 13
 ἀστεῖος 3431 15
 ἄτοπος [3433 6]
 αὐτός 3431 2+3 24 3433 6
 ἀφανής 3432 8?

 βαδίζειν 3432 11?
 βούλεσθαι [3433 3]

 γάρ 3433 [1], 5, 13
 γίγνεσθαι 3431 2+3 8? 3432 5
 [3433 1]

 δέ 3431 2+3 [2?], 13, [19?]
 [3432 13?] 3433 [6], [10],
 15?, [16], 21?

δεῖπνον 3431 2+3 5?
 δέκα 3432 2–3?
 δῆ 3433 15?
 διατελεῖν 3433 2
 διδόναι 3431 11, 2+3 2, 15
 διεντυχεῖν 3433 3
 δίκαιος 3433 13
 εἶαν [3431 12
 εἶαν 3431 113, 2+3 5?
 εἶαν 3431 2+3 5?
 ἐγώ 3431 2+3 1, [19?] 3432 2,
 [4?], 6, 7 [3433 7]
 εἶ 3433 [1], [6]
 εἶναι 3431 2+3 3? 3433 5, 10,
 13, 17
 εἰπεῖν 3432 2
 εἰς 3431 117
 εἰσιέναι 3431 2+3 4
 ἔνεκα 3432 2–3?
 Ἐνχειρίδιον 3432 9–10?
 ἐπί 3433 [2], 6, [7]
 ἐρ[3431 2+3 22
 ἐρεῖδειν 3431 2+3 14?, 26?
 ἐρω . . . [3431 19
 ἔτερος 3431 2+3 6
 εὐ[3431 2+3 6
 ἔχειν [3431 2+3 3?]

 ζῆν 3431 2+3 20
 ζῶιον 3433 12

 ἥδικτος 3431 2+3 4?

 θάπτων 3433 11
 θε[3431 15
 θέλειν 3431 2+3 5?
 θεός [3431 2+3 1?] [3432 9?]
 [3433 4]

θνήσκειν 3431 2+3 20?
 θυγάτηρ 3431 2+3 18
 θύρα [3431 2+3 13?]

 ἱατρο[3433 25?
 ἱκετεύειν 3432 4
 ἱμάτιον 3431 2+3 5
 ἴνα [3433 8]

 καί 3431 2+3 1?, 7, 15 3433
 [3], [4], [8], 9, 11, [13], [18]
 και[3431 13
 κακός 3432 2–3? 3433 17
 καλός 3433 15
 καταλαμβάνειν 3432 13
 κατασπαράσσειν 3432 11–12?
 καταχεῖν 3431 2+3 11
 κεφάλαιον [3433 10]
 κοινός [3433 8]
 κομίζειν [3431 2+3 6?]

 λαλεῖν 3433 8
 λαμβάνειν 3431 2+3 3, 25?
 3433 12
 Λάχης 3431 2+3 25?
 λέγειν 3431 116
 λογιστέον 3433 9
 λόγος 3433 10
 λυπηρός 3433 18

 μά 3432 3?
 μα[3431 11
 μάλα [3433 13]
 μάλλον 3431 112 3432 3?
 μέγιστος 3433 14
 Μένανδρος 3432 10?
 μένειν 3432 10?
 μέρος 3431 2+3 1

μέσος [3433 18]
 μεταβολή [3433 11]
 μέτριος 3433 17
 μηθ... [3431 2+3 14
 μηθε[3431 119
 μήτε 3431 2+3 26
 μήτηρ 3432 2 [3433 2]
 Μίδας 3433 19?
 μικρός 3431 2+3 2?
 μόλις 3433 27?
 Μοσίων 3431 2+3 22 3432 7
 μωκάσθαι 3431 2+3 16

νόμος 3433 6
 νύν [3431 2+3 2?]
 νυνί [3433 17]

ὄγκος 3433 11
 οἰκία 3431 117
 οἰκονομεῖν 3433 14
 οἰστέον [3433 9]
 ὀμνύναι 3432 9
 ὀμολογεῖν 3433 4
 ὀρθός [3433 5]
 ὅς 3431 111 3433 2, [3], [11]
 ὅσπερ [3433 7]
 ὅταν [3433 15]
 ὅτε [3433 2]
 οὐ 3431 2+3 19
 οὐ [3431 2+3 18
 οὐδέ 3431 2+3 2, 20
 ουδε [3431 2+3 16
 οὐδεῖς 3431 2+3 17?
 οὐθεις 3433 12

οὔκο[3431 17
 οὔτε [3433 16]
 οὗτος 3431 2+3 3, 4, 6, 9?,
 19? 3432 8, 11? 3433
 [4], [9]
 οὕτω[3431 2+3 17

παῖδιον 3432 4-5?, 9-10?
 πάλιν 3431 110 3433 11
 παρά 3431 2+3 6?
 πᾶς 3432 9
 πεπ[3431 14
 περιέχειν 3431 2+3 9
 πίπτειν [3433 15]
 πλείστος 3433 15
 ποιεῖν [3433 6]
 ποῖος [3431 2+3 25?]
 πολὺς 3431 2+3 7
 πονηρός 3431 2+3 5
 που [3433 18]
 πρ[3431 114
 πράγμα 3433 14
 πράσσειν 3432 7-8? [3433 3]
 προαιρεῖσθαι 3431 2+3 19
 προνοεῖν 3431 2+3 7?
 πρὸς 3431 2+3 1?, 4 3433 11
 πώποτε 3431 2+3 17
 πῶς 3431 2+3 1

σα[3432 2
 σε[3431 118
 σός 3431 2+3 2, 3
 σοφιστής 3431 2+3 24, 25
 σπᾶν 3433 7
 σπαράσσειν 3432 12?

κύ 3431 2+3 1, [2?], 8, 11, 12?,
 22? [3432 4?] 3433 [1],
 [2], 4, 5, [8], [16], 17
 συντρίβειν 3433 15

ταπεινότης 3433 12
 τε 3431 2+3 7, 18 3433 2, [6],
 [17]
 τέκνον 3432 5
 τίκτειν [3433 2]
 τις [3433 4]
 τίς 3431 16, 14, 2+3 1
 το[3432 6
 τοιοῦτος 3432 11?
 τραγικός 3433 8
 τρέφειν 3431 118
 τριάθλιος 3432 3
 τρο[3433 25?
 τρόφιμος 3433 1, 16

υἱός 3431 2+3 18
 ὑπερβάλλειν 3433 16

φαν[3432 8?
 φέρειν 3433 18
]φορεῖν 3433 22
 φράζειν 3432 6
 φύσις [3433 14]

χρᾶν 3431 2+3 25
 χρήσιμος 3431 2+3 8

ψεύδειν 3433 5

ᾧστε [3433 18]

(b) UNIDENTIFIED PROSE (3434)

αγνοου- 3434 10?
 ἄλλοθι 3434 2?
 ἀπό 3434 8?
 ἀποκτείνειν 3434 17?

γάρ 3434 15?

εἰς 3434 9?
 Ἐκάβη 3434 6?

Ἐκάλη 3434 6?
 ἐπεξίεναι 3434 5?
 ἐπί 3434 16?, 18?

μητρυιά 3434 14?

οὔτε 3434 4?
 οὗτος 3434 7-8?

]ποτε 3434 3

ταυ- 3434 4
 τροιά(?) 3434 8-9?
 Τροία 3434 8-9?
 Τροιζήν 3434 8-9?

ὑπεξίεναι 3434 5?
 ὑπόθεσις 3434 7?

II. METROLOGICAL TEXTS

- ἄγειν **3455** 3, 4, 37, [39],
 [41] **3456** 17, 22
 ἀγελαῖος **3455** 9, 15, 20
 ἄλληλος **3455** 44
 ἀργυρικός **3455** 45
 ἀργύριον **3455** 27
 ἀργυροῦς **3455** 2?
 ἀριθμητικός **3455** 45
 ἀρτάβη [3455 36?] **3457** [1?],
 3 **3458** 7, 9
 (ἀρτάβη) **3455** 37
 ἄσημος **3455** 21

 βασιλικός **3455** detached fr., 2?

 γάρ **3455** 45
 γίνεσθαι **3455** 25?, 35-6?
 γράμμα **3455** 25 **3456** 20
 (bis), 21, 23

 δάκτυλος **3455** 6, 7, 9, 12, 13,
 14, 17, 18, 19 **3457** 9, 10
3458 15, [16] **3459** 8, 9
 δέ **3455** 2?, 3, 6, 7, [10], 10,
 [12], [13], 15, [16], 17, [18],
 20, [21], 22, [24], 26, 28,
 30, 32, 33, 35, 38, [38], 40
 (bis), 42 (bis), 44, 46;
 detached fr., 3 **3456** 15, 16
 (bis), 17 (bis), 18 (ter), 19,
 20 (bis), 21, 22 (ter), 23
3457 [1?], 2, 4, [6], [8], 11
3458 2, [3 (bis)], 6, 7, 8, 11,
 14, [17] **3459** 2, 7 **3460**
 2, 5
 δέκα **3456** 15 **3458** 8
 δηνάριον **3455** 26
 διαφέρειν **3455** 44
 δραχμή **3455** 23, 24, 25 [3457
 1?] **3458** 3, 4, 6
 (δραχμή) **3455** 22?, 23?, 24?,
 25, [39], 40?, 41, [41], 42,
 43, 46 **3456** 18, 22 (ter)
 δύο **3456** 23
 δώδεκα **3456** 16

 εἶναι **3455** 8, 13, 18 **3456** 16,
 21 **3457** 2-3, 5, 7, [9]
3458 5, 9, 12, 16, 18-19
3459 4, 8-9
 εἶς **3455** 6, 11, 17
 ἑκατόν [3458 3]
- ἐν **3455** 10
 ἐρισπωλικός **3455** detached fr.,
 3
 ἔχειν **3455** [5], [11], 16, 21, 22,
 24, 26, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35,
 [43?], 46 **3456** 15 (bis), 16,
 19 (bis), 20 **3457** [1?], 2, [3],
 4, [5], [6], 8, 9, 10, [11]
3458 [2], 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13,
 15, 17, 18 **3459** 1, 3, 6,
 7 **3460** 3

 ἡμίεκτον **3457** 6, [6] **3458** 11
 (bis) **3459** 1-2, 2
 ἡμιούγκιον **3456** 19, 20, 21, 22
 (ἡμιουγκ) [3455 37?]
 ἡμιωβέλιον **3456** 18

 θερμός **3455** 29, 31, 32, 34,
 35 **3456** 15, 16, 17, 18
 [3457 11] **3460** 4

 ἴδιος **3455** 43?

 καί **3455** 45; detached fr., 2
 καλεῖν **3455** 4-5
 κεράτιον **3455** 30, 32, 33, 34,
 35 **3456** 16 (bis), 17, 18
3460 5
 κοτύλη **3457** [4], [5] **3458**
 [18], [19]
 κριθή **3455** 38, 40, 42

 λίτρα **3455** 21, 26 **3456** 19,
 21, 22

 μέδιμνος **3457** 6, [7] **3458** 10,
 13 **3459** 1, 4
 μέν **3455** 3?, [5], 9, 11, 14, 16,
 19, 34, 45 **3456** 15, 17, 19,
 21 **3458** 6 **3460** [1?], 4
 μετρητής **3457** 3-4, 5 **3458**
 [17], 19
 μέτρον **3455** 7, 39 **3457** [1?],
 2 **3458** 7-8, 8
 μήκος **3455** [5], 11, 16
 μνά **3455** 3?, 27?, 38, [43?],
 44, [45] **3458** 2
 μναεῖον **3455** 27?, 28 **3456**
 15, 16-17, 17 [3457 10]
3460 1
- Νικομηδιαῖος **3455** 13-14?
 Νικομηδικός **3455** 10, 13-14?
 νοῦμμος [3455 30?]

 ὀβολός **3456** 23 **3457** 1?
3458 6
 ὀλκή **3455** 36, 37 **3456** 17, 22
 ὄλυρα **3455** 38-9, 41, [42]
 ὄς **3455** 10
 οὐγκία **3455** 21, 22 **3456** 19
 (bis), 22

 παλαιστής **3457** 8, 8-9 **3458**
 14, 14-15 **3459** 6, 7
 πᾶς **3455** 43
 πάχος **3455** 7, 12?, 12-13, 18
 πῆχυς **3455** 6, 11, 14, 16, 17,
 19 **3457** 8, [9] **3458** 14,
 [16] **3459** 6, 9
 πλάτος **3455** 6, 12, 17
 πολυπλασιάζειν **3455** 8
 πόκος **3455** [24?], 36?
 Πτολεμαϊκός **3455** 5
 πυρός **3455** 37, 39, 41

 σιδηροῦς **3455** 3
 σπέρμα **3455** 36?
 σπῆρος **3455** 36?
 στατήρ **3455** 4, [22], [23], 24,
 31, 46 **3458** [2], 3-4, 5
 στερεός **3455** 16, 19

 τάλαντον **3455** 37, 43 **3458** 5
 τετάρτη **3455** 29, 33 **3456** 15
 (bis), 18 **3457** [10], 11
3460 2, 3
 τριώβολον **3456** 18

 χαλκοῦς **3456** 19
 χοῖνιξ **3455** 41 **3457** 2, 3, 7,
 7-8 **3458** 8-9, 10, 12, 13
3459 3, 5
 χοῦς **3455** [5], 8, 10? **3457** 4
 (bis) **3458** [17], 18
 χρυσός **3455** 26, 30
 χρυσοῦς **3455** 28
 χυδαῖος **3455** 8-9, 14, 19

 ὠνεῖσθαι **3455** 11
 ὡς **3455** 7, 13, 18
 ὥστε **3456** 16, 21 **3457** [2],
 [4], 7, [9] **3458** 4, 9, 12,
 15-16, [18] **3459** 3-4, 8

III. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS

PTOLEMY XII AND CLEOPATRA V

βασιλευόντων Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ Τρυφαίνης θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων Φιλαδέλφων (Year 9) **3482** 1
βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα ἢ καὶ Τρύφαινα θεοὶ Φιλοπάτορες [Φιλάδελφοι (Year 9) **3482**
 28-9

CLEOPATRA VI

βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα (Year 6) **3461** 1

TIBERIUS

Τιβέριος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός (Year 12) **3463** 5 (Year lost) **3483** 9? (Year 13-19) **3484** 22-3

GAIUS

Γάιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικός (Year 2) **3485** 1, 12-13, 34-5, 38

CLAUDIUS

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικός Αὐτοκράτωρ (Year 1) **3486** 5-7, (Year 2?) 11-13
Θεὸς Κλαύδιος (Year 14) **3464** 4

CLAUDIUS OR NERO

Σεβαστῶς Γερμα[νικός Αὐτο]κράτωρ (Year lost) **3464** 34

NERO

Νέρων Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικός Αὐτοκράτωρ (Year 4) **3463** 11-12 (Year 10) **3465** 10?
 (Year 10) **3487** 18-19, (Year 12) 25-7, 35-7, 39-40

VESPASIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς Σεβαστός (Year 3) **3488** 7-8 (Year 5) **3489** 6-7 (Year 2) **3508** 7, 36-7
 (Year 11) **3510** 10-11, 12-13, 18-20

DOMITIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Δο[μιτιανὸς [Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός (Year lost) **3466** 32-3?

TRAJAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Νέρουας Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστός Γερμανικός (Year 2) **3467** 20-1

HADRIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός (Year 16) **3470** 37-8, 46-8 (Year 16) **3471** 35-7, 45-6
Ἀδριανὸς Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (Year 15) **3470** 18-19 **3471** 15-16

ANTONINUS PIUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστός Εὐσεβής (Year 12) **3472** 21-2
Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (Year 11) **3472** 5-6 (Year 4) **3490** 10-11 (Year 12) **3491** 4

MARCUS AURELIUS AND VERUS

οἱ κύριοι Αὐτοκράτορες Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος (Year lost) **3473** 7-9
οἱ κύριοι Αὐτοκράτορες Αὐρήλιοι Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Οὐῆρος (Year lost) **3492** 2-3

MARCUS AURELIUS

Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστός Ἀρμενιακὸς Μηδικὸς Παρθικὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος (Year 15) **3493** 13-14, 28-9 **3494** 16-18, 36-8

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA

Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβαστός Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηρικὸς καὶ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ ἀποδεδειγμένος Ἀυτοκράτωρ (Year 6) **3474** 25-30

CARACALLA

Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀντωνί[νος] Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος Βρετανικὸς Μέγι[στος] Γερμανι[κὸς Μέγιστος] Εὐσεβ[ῆς Σεβαστός] (Year 23?) **3496** 14-20
Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (Year 21?) **3496** 3-6 (Year 24?) **3497** 2-5

ELAGABALUS

Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος [Ἀντωνίνος] Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός (Year 3) **3475** 27-30
Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (Year 3) **3475** 11-13

MACRIANUS AND QUIETUS

Ἀυτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Τίτος Φούλβιος Ἰούνιος Μακριανὸς καὶ Τίτος Φούλβιος Ἰούνιος Κιηῆτος Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχεῖς Σεβαστοί (Year 1) **3476** 12-13
οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Τίτος Φούλβιος Ἰούνιος Μακριανὸς καὶ Τίτος Φούλβιος Ἰούνιος Κιηῆτος Σεβαστοί (Year 1) **3476** 7-8

CLAUDIUS II

Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κλαύδιος Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός (Year 2) **3477** a 2-4? (Year 3) **3477** 18-20

AURELIAN

Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Λούκιος Δομίτιος Αὐρηλιανὸς Γοθικὸς Μέγιστος Καρπικὸς Μέγιστος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός (Year 6) **3498** 38-40

IV. CONSULS AND INDICATIONS

(a) CONSULS

ὑπατείας Φλαουίῶν Ταύρου καὶ Εὐσεβίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων (A.D. 361?) **3479** 1
μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλα(ουίου) Λογγίνου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) τὸ β (A.D. 492) **3512** 1

(b) INDICATIONS

πρώτη ἰνδικτίων **3512** 17
β' ἰνδικτίων **3512** 2

V. MONTHS

Ἀδριανός **3470** 48 **3471** 47
Ἀθύρ **3495** 196
Δίος **3482** 2
ἐπαγόμεναι **3472** 22

Ἐπίφ **3469** 19 **3477** a 4
Θώθ **3476** 13 **3481** 13
3482 2
Μεσορή **3461** 2 **3465** 11?

3472 22 **3485** 2, 35, 39
3501 7 **3512** 16
Μεχείρ **3465** 11? **3493** 14,
29 **3494** 18, 38 **3505** 26

Νερώνιος Σεβαστός 3487 17	22 3519 3, 14 3520 11	Φαμενώθ 3475 10, 31 3503
Πάννι 3466 21 3488 42-3	3521 8	5 3512 2
3489 30	Ποιανειών 3477 a 4	Φαρμούθι 3484 22 3504 11
Παχών 3513 3, 10 3514 3, 8,	Σεβαστός 3467 22 3508 37	3508 37
14, 21 3515 2, 3, 9 3516	Τύβι 3463 7 3465 11? 3496	Φαώφι 3487 27, 37, 40 3495
3, 8, 10 3517 8 3518 4,	21	1 3498 40
		Χοιάκ 3465 11? 3485 12

VI. PERSONAL NAMES

- A[, f. of Harmiysis, gd.-f. of An. . . , gt. gd.-f. of Harmiysis 3471 5
- 'Αγαθός, donkey driver 3518 5
- 'Αγαθός Δαίμων 3475 33-4
- 'Αγάθων *see* Index VII(d) s.v. *Ψώκου και 'Αγάθωνος κλήρος*
- 'Αδριανός *see* Index III s.vv. Hadrian, Antoninus Pius; V
- 'Αθανάσιος 3502 3
- 'Αθην. [, child of Dionysapollodorus and Chaeremonis 3491 8
- 'Αθηνά *see* Index VIII
- Αἴλιος 'Αφροδείσιος, strategus 3472 1
- Αἴλιος *see also* Index III s.v. Antoninus Pius
- Αιλο[, Aurelia, d. of Sarapion and Aelura 3477 7, [21]
- Αιλούρα 3477 a 10-11 3477 8
- Αἰμιλιανός, Marcus Aur., s. of [Marcus] Aur. Besammon and Aurelia Petronia, gd.-s. of Serenus and Eudaemon, gt. gd.-s. of Pe. . . 3476 10, 20, 33
- Αἰμίλλιος Κατουρνίνος, prefect 3474 11, 21
- 'Αἰών 3480 4, 12
- 'Αλέξανδρος, Sarapion alias, s. of Diogenes and Demetrous, gd.-s. of Hermaiscus 3493 1, 11, 15, 26 3494 2, 20
- 'Αλέξανδρος, f. of . . . is 3470 53
- 'Αλέξανδρος 3505 1, 29
- 'Αλέξανδρος 3507 20
- 'Αλέξανδρος *see also* Index VII(d) s.v. 'Αλεξάνδρου κλήρος
- 'Αλίνη 3499 5
- 'Αμαραντός, slave 3510 5
- 'Αμμωνάριος, f. of Aur. Sarapammon 3476 17
- 'Αμμωνάς, s. of Hierax 3461 3
- 'Αμμωνάς, land-owner 3520 2
- 'Αμμώνιος, alias Pets. . . , s. of Ammonius, gd.-s. of Pecysius 3472 2
- 'Αμμώνιος, f. of Ammonius alias Pets. . . , s. of Pecysius 3472 3
- 'Αμμώνιος, s. of Panetbeus 3469 11
- 'Αμμώνιος, f. of Aur. Sarapammon 3476 19
- 'Αμμώνιος, f. of Dionysia 3482 27
- 'Αμμώνιος, s. of Taseus(?) 3492 16
- 'Αμμώνιος, φροντιστής 3516 2
- 'Αμμώνιος 3514 11
- 'Αμμωνούς, sister of Pannus 3492 6
- 'Αμούις, f. of Ptollis, gd.-f. of Amois, h. of Thaesis 3470 7, 34, 50
- 'Αμούις, s. of Ptollis and Ta. . . , gd.-s. of Amois 3470 33
- 'Αμούις, s. of Pompeius and Harseis, gd.-s. of Pompeius and Dio. . . 3490 1
- Αν[, s. of Harmiysis and Tayris, gd.-s. of A. . . , f. of Harmiysis, priest 3471 4, 29, [48]
- 'Ανδρέας, Aur., s. of Demetrius, ship's captain 3481 1, 14
- 'Ανδρόμαχος, f. of Apion 3487 15
- 'Ανδρόμαχος, gymnasiarch 3507 3
- 'Ανθέσιος, f. of Harmiysis(?), gt. gd.-f. of Harmiysis(?) 3471 6
- 'Αννα, m. of Aur. Panechotes, w. of Mouses 3512 6
- 'Αντίνοος *see* Index VII(a) s.v. 'Αντινούου πόλις
- 'Αντίοχος, f. of Theon 3482 3, 29
- 'Αντίοχος, f. of Theon 3492 8
- 'Αντίοχος, s. of Theon 3486 8
- 'Αντωνίνος, priest, archidicastes, superintendent of the chrematistae 3466 1
- 'Αντωνίνος *see also* Index III s.vv. Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus and Caracalla, Caracalla, Elagabalus
- 'Απία, m. of Theon, w. of Theon 3490 4
- 'Απίων, s. of Andromachus 3487 14
- 'Απίων, f. of Herodes 3510 2
- 'Απίων, προνοητής 3514 10 3515 2
- 'Απολλ[, Aur. Tiro alias 3499 4
- 'Απολλοφάνης, city scribe 3510 1
- 'Απόλλων *see* Index VIII
- 'Απολλώνιος?, f. of Poseidonia, gd.-f. of Theon 3463 6
- 'Απολλώνιος(?), f. of Thaesis, gd.-f. of Harmiysis(?) 3471 28-9

- Ἀπολλώνιος, f. of Dionysius 3482 3, 30
 Ἀπολλώνιος, s. of Hierax, gd.-f. of Dionysapollodoros 3491 3
 Ἀπολλώ(νιος), s. of Philostratus, (ex-?) cosmetes 3492 10
 Ἀπολλώνιος 3468 2
 Ἀπολλώνιος 3507 2, 42
 Ἀπολλώνιος 3511 11, 18
 Ἀπολλώνιος, f. of Colluthus. *See also* Index VII(d) s.v. Κολλούθου
 Ἀπολλωνοῦς, d. of Sarapion, w. of Theon 3489 8, 34
 Ἀπολλῶς, Aur., elder(?) 3479 7, 17, 21
 Ἀπφῦς, Dion(ysius) alias or f. of Dion(ysius) 3492 15
 Ἀράχθης, boatman 3517 4
 Ἀρβαῖθος, f. of Thermuthion 3506 1, 29
 Ἀρμιῦς, f. of An. . . , gd.-f. of Harmiysis, s. of A. . . , h. of Tayris 3471 4, 30, 48
 Ἀρμιῦς(?), s. of Thaesis, gd.-s. of Harmiysis(?) and Apollonius(?), gt. gd.-s. of Anthestius 3471 26-7
 Ἀρμιῦς, s. of An. . . , gd.-s. of Harmiysis 3471 29
 Ἀρμιῦς(?), gd.-f. of Harmiysis(?), s. of Anthestius 3471 27-8, 48-9
 Ἀρποκρ(), secretary of the gymnasium(?) 3492 5
 Ἀρποκρᾶς, s. of Publius 3492 20
 Ἀρποκρατίων, f. of Dionysia, gd.-f. of Chaeremonis, s. of Heracleides, h. of Massalina 3491 1
 Ἀρρεῖς, d. of Dio. . . , m. of Amois, w. of Pompeius 3490 2
 Ἀρειῆς, s. of Hasychis, h. of Teteuris 3468 7, 9, 11, 22, 29
 Ἀρροῦς 3506 7, 15
 Ἀρχίβιος *see* Index VII(b)
 Ἀκινανός, Gaius Julius, strategus 3464 1
 Ἀκκληπιάδης, strategus 3470 3 3471 3
 Ἀκῦς, f. of Theon and Harsiesis 3468 5-6
 Ἀρρηλία *see* Αἰλοῖ, Κύριλλα, Πετρωνία
 Ἀρρηλιανός *see* Index III s.v. Aurelian
 Ἀρρήλιος 3478 1; *see also* Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, Ἀνδρέας, Ἀπολλῶς, Ἀχιλλεύς, Βασιλείδης, Γοῦνθος, Διογᾶς, Θέων, Μάρκος Ἀῦρ. Αἰμιλιανός, [Μάρκος] Ἀῦρ. Βηράμμων, Μάρκος Ἀῦρ. Εὔδαιμων, Πανεχώσιος, Πανεχώτης, Παπνούθιος, Πασυγώνιος, Πετεῦρις, Σα[ρα-], Σαραπάμμων, Σαραπίων, Κυρίων, Τείρων, Χεῶς; Index III s.vv. Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus and Caracalla, Caracalla, Elagabalus, Claudius II
 Ἀφροδεΐσιος, Aelius, strategus 3472 1
 Ἀφροδίτη *see* Index VII (d) s.v. ἄγνια Κλεοπάτρας Ἀφροδίτης; VIII
 Ἀφῦγχις, f. of Dorotheus 3480 6
 Ἀχιλλεύς, Aur., *praepositus pagi* 3479 3
 Ἀχιλλεύς, overseer of grapheion 3485 36
 Ἀχιλλεύς 3507 14
 Βακχυλ() *see* Index VII(d)
 Βάλβιλλος, Tiberius Claudius, prefect 3464 28
 Βασιλείδης, Aur., alias Philantinous, s. of Hierax 3477 11, 22
 Βερενείκη, d. of Bitharion, w. of Herodes 3510 7
 Βηράμμων, [Marcus] Aur., s. of Serenus, h. of Aurelia Petronia, f. of Marcus Aur. Aemilianus and Marcus Aur. Eudaemon 3476 3, 14
 Βησᾶς *see* Index VIII
 Βιθαρίων, f. of Berenike 3510 8
 Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀκινανός, strategus 3464 1
 Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διογένης, s. of C. [Julius] Tiro 3498 1, 41
 Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἰόλλας, priest, gymnasiarch of Alexandria 3464 12
 Γάιος [Ἰούλιος] Τείρων, f. of C. Julius Diogenes 3498 2-3, 6
 Γάιος 3484 8
 Γάιος *see* Index III s.v. Gaius
 Γερμανικός *see* Index III s.vv. Gaius, Claudius, Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla, Claudius II
 Γερμανός, f. of Panares 3492 18
 Γέτας, Lucius Lusius, former prefect 3464 11, 17, 35?
 Γοθικός *see* Index III s.v. Aurelian
 Γοῦνθος, Aur., s. of Penephis 3480 3, 27
 Δημητρία, d. of Sarapion 3466 6, 7, 9-10, 10-11, 15, 21, 23, 24
 Δημήτριος, f. of Aur. Andreas 3481 2
 Δημήτριος, f. of Hermogenes, gd.-f. of Hermogenes minor 3485 4-5
 Δημήτριος, f. of Thais 3492 28
 Δημητροῦς, m. of Sarapion alias Alexander, w. of Diogenes 3493 1, 15 3494 21
 Διδύμη, d. of Saras 3499 3, 8
 Διδυμίων, s. of Mettius, high-priest(?) 3492 9
 Δίδυμος 3480 4, 11
 Δίδυμος 3505 3, 5, 17, 18
 Διο. . . [f. of Harseis, gd.-f. of Amois 3490 2
 Διογᾶς, Aur., s. of Diogenes, embalmer 3500 10
 Διογᾶς, s. of Horus, gd.-s. of Horus, priest 3471 7, 49
 Διογᾶς 3471 31

- Διογένης*, s. of Theagenes 3486 1
Διογένης(?), s. of Philiscus 3488 3
Διογένης, s. of Chaeremon, ex-gymnasiarch 3492 12
Διογένης, f. of Sarapion alias Alexander, s. of Hermaiscus, h. of Demetrous 3493 1, 15 3494 2, 21
Διογένης, alias Dionysius, s. of Diogenes and Plutarche, gd.-s. of Diogenes 3493 2, 16 3494 1, 14, 19, 34
Διογένης, f. of Diogenes alias Dionysius, s. of Diogenes, h. of Plutarche 3493 2, 16 3494 1, 19
Διογένης, f. of Diogenes, gd.-f. of Diogenes alias Dionysius 3493 2, 16 3494 1, 19
Διογένης, C. Julius, s. of C. [Julius] Tiro 3498 1, 41
Διογένης, Saras alias, f. of Didyme 3499 3
Διογένης, f. of Aur. Diogas 3500 10-11
Διογένης, s. of Diogenes, gd.-s. of Sarapion 3508 2
Διογένης, f. of Diogenes, s. of Sarapion 3508 2
Διογένης, city scribe 3510 1, 18
Διογένης, slave 3510 6
Διογένης 3465 2, [5?]
Διομήδης 3461 12
Διον(), child of Dionysapollodorus and Chaeremonis 3491 9
Διονυσαπολλόδωρος, s. of Dionysius alias Chresimus, gd.-s. of Dionysius and Apollonius, gt. gd.-s. of Hierax, h. of Chaeremonis 3491 2
Διονυσία, d. of Ammonius, w. of Theon 3482 27
Διονυσία, d. of Harpocraton and Massalina, gd.-d. of Heracleides, m. of Chaeremonis, w. of Heracleides 3491 1, [2], 7, 9, 11
Διονυσία 3506 27
Διονύσιος, f. of Theon 3466 3
Διονύσιος, f. of Aurelius Theon, h. of Es. . . 3477 4
Διονύσιος, s. of Apollonius, Macedonian 3482 3, 7, 8, 11, 14, 16, 16-17, 21, 23, [30]
Διονύσιος, f. of Ischyriion 3485 4, 33, 40
Διονύσιος, alias Petsiris, s. of Sara. . . 3488 1, 24, 33, 37, 41, 52
Διονύσιος, alias Chresimus, s. of Dionysius, f. of Dionysapollodorus 3491 2
Διονύσιος, f. of Dionysius alias Chresimus, gd.-f. of Dionysapollodorus 3491 2
Διονύσιος, Diogenes alias, s. of Diogenes and Plutarche, gd.-s. of Diogenes 3493 2, 16 3494 1, 14, 19, 34
Διονύσιος, banker 3487 8, 16
Διονύσιος 3505 25
Διονύσιος 3518 10
Διον(ύσιος), s. of Longinia, ex-gymnasiarch 3492 13
Διον(ύσιος), alias (or son of?) Apphys 3492 15
Διονυκόδωρος 3482 40
Διονυκόδωρος see also Index VII(d)
Διοσκουρίδης 3505 22
Διοφάντης see Index VII(d) s.v. *Καπιςτοτέλους και Διοφάντου* (κλήρος)
Δομιτιανός see Index III s.v. Domitian
Δομίτιος see Index III s.v. Aurelian
Δωράς, s. of Pibekis, ship's captain? 3469 7
Δωράς, slave 3514 3
Δωρόθεος, s. of Aphynchis 3480 5-6, 13
Ἐρμαΐκος, f. of Diogenes, gd.-f. of Sarapion alias Alexander 3493 1, 15 3494 21
Ἐρμέρος 3514 6
Ἐρμίας, s. of Zenodorus 3485 5, [22?], 25, 28, 40
Ἐρμιογένης, f. of Melas, s. of Melas 3467 22, 23
Ἐρμιογένης minor, s. of Hermogenes, gd.-s. of Demetrius 3485 4, 25, 29, 40
Ἐρμιογένης, f. of Hermogenes minor, s. of Demetrius 3485 4, 25
Ες[, w. of Dionysius, m. of Aurelius Theon 3477 4
Εὐδαΐμων, s. of Pe. . . , f. of Aurelia Petronia, gd.-f. of Marcus Aur. Aemilianus and Marcus Aur. Eudaemon 3476 5
Εὐδαΐμων, Marcus Aur., s. of [Marcus] Aur. Besammon and Aurelia Petronia, gd.-s. of Serenus and Eudaemon, gt. gd.-s. of Pe. . . 3476 10, [21]
Εὐδαΐμων, official in charge of registry of military settlers' land grants 3482 5
Εὐδαΐμων, ex-gymnasiarch 3492 14
Εὐπλοία, slave 3477 13
Εὐρέβιος see Index IV(a)
Εὐτυχ(), doctor 3492 24
Ζεύς see Index VIII
Ζηνόδωρος, f. of Hermias 3485 5, 25, 28
Ζωῖλ(), doctor 3492 24
Ζωῖλος, s. of Horus 3487 34
Ζωῖλος, s. of Zoilus 3496 9
Ζωῖλος, f. of Zoilus 3496 9
Ζωῖλος 3503 6
Ἦρα see Index VIII
Ἡραδίων, f. of Ischyriion, s. of Ischyriion 3474 6, 32, 40
Ἡρακλᾶς, alias Pekysis(?), s. of Thoonis 3497 8
Ἡρακλείδης, s. of Heracleides, f. of Theon, h. of Poseidonia 3463 4

- Ἡρακλείδης, f. of Heracleides, gd.-f. of Theon 3463 4
 Ἡρακλείδης, f. of Isidorus, gd.-f. of Isidorus 3474 34
 Ἡρακλείδης, s. of Seos and Taonnophris, gd.-s. of Heracleides, h. of Dionysia, f. of Chaeremonis 3491 1, 2, 5, 9, 10
 Ἡρακλείδης, f. of Seos, gd.-f. of Heracleides, gt. gd.-f. of Chaeremonis 3491 1
 Ἡρακλείδης, f. of Harpocraton, gd.-f. of Dionysia, gt. gd.-f. of Chaeremonis 3491 1
 Ἡρακλείδης, strategus? 3469 1, 20
 Ἡρακλείδης, city secretary 3472 13
 Ἡρακλείδης 3492 17
 Ἡρακλείδης 3505 7, 10
 Ἡρακλείδης 3510 6
 Ἡρακλείδης see also Index VII(a) s.v. Ἡρακλείδου μερίς
 Ἡρακλῆς, s. of Menches and Tatas, f. of Panemgeus, h. of Tathonas, priest 3470 5, 31, 49
 Ἡρακλῆς see also Index VIII
 Ἡρατίων, s. of Maron 3464 6, 8, 15, 22
 Ἡρώδης, Tiberius Claudius, strategus 3508 1
 Ἡρώδης, s. of Apion, h. of Berenike 3510 2
 Ἡρωνᾶς 3480 23
 Ἡφαιτίων, Tiberius Claudius, strategus 3465 1, 5
- Θα. [3502 4?
 Θαῆς, m. of Ptolis, gd.-m. of Amois, w. of Amois 3470 8
 Θαῆς, m. of Harmiysis(?), d. of Apollonius(?) 3471 28
 Θαΐς, d. of Demetrius 3492 28
 Θεαγένης, f. of Diogenes 3486 1
 Θεογένης, s. of Theogenes 3508 5
 Θεογένης, f. of Theogenes 3508 5
 Θερμούθιον, d. of Harbaethus 3506 1, 29
 Θέων, Aur., alias Philemon, acting nomarch 3477 2, 21
 Θέων, Aur., s. of Dionysius and Es. . . 3477 4
 Θέων, Aur. 3480 27
 Θέων, s. of Heracleides and Poseidonia, gd.-s. of Heracleides and ? Apollonius 3463 6
 Θέων, f. of Mnesitheus 3464 3
 Θέων, s. of Dionysius 3466 3
 Θέων, s. of Hasychis 3468 5, 6, 20, 28
 Θέων, s. of Antiochus, h. of Dionysia, Macedonian 3482 3, 5, 10, 12, 16, [20], 22, 23, 27 (bis), 29
 Θέων, f. of Antiochus 3486 8
 Θέων, s. of Theon, gd.-s. of Theon, h. of Apollonius 3489 1, 16, 24-5, 27, 29
- Θέων, f. of Theon, s. of Theon 3489 1
 Θέων, f. of Theon, gd.-f. of Theon 3489 1
 Θέων, s. of Theon and Apia, gd.-s. of Panechotes 3490 3
 Θέων, f. of Theon, s. of Panechotes, h. of Apia 3490 3
 Θέων, *vir spectabilis* 3481 3
 Θέων, philosopher 3492 4
 Θέων, ex-gymnasiarch 3492 11
 Θέων, s. of Antiochus 3492 8
 Θέων 3508 34
 Θεῆρις see Index VIII
 Θεομήσις 3506 15
 Θεῶνις, f. of Heraclas alias Pekysis(?) 3497 9
 Θεῶνις, tailor 3492 27
 Θράκων, ἀγροφύλαξ 3511 31
 Θρεπτός, slave 3514 4
 Θώνιος, mill-master 3481 6
 Θῶνις 3502 7
- Ἰέραξ, f. of Ammonas 3461 3
 Ἰέραξ, f. of Aurelius Basilides 3477 12
 Ἰέραξ, f. of Apollonius, gt. gd.-f. of Dionysapollodorus 3491 3
 Ἰέραξ, royal scribe 3470 3-4 3471 3
 Ἰόλλας, Gaius Julius, priest, gymnasiarch of Alexandria 3464 12
 Ἰόλλας, s. of Pnepheros, gd.-s. of Iollas 3489 2, 34
 Ἰόλλας, f. of Pnepheros, gd.-f. of Iollas 3489 3
 Ἰούλιος Λυκίμαχος, head of the Idios Logos 3508 3, 6
 Ἰούλιος, Gaius Julius Asinianus, strategus 3464 1
 Ἰούλιος, Gaius Julius Diogenes, s. of C. [Julius] Tiro 3498 1, 41
 Ἰούλιος, Gaius Julius Iollas, priest, gymnasiarch of Alexandria 3464 12
 [Ἰούλιος], C. [Julius] Tiro, f. of C. Julius Diogenes 3498 2-3, 6
 Ἰούλιος, Lucius Julius . . . , prefect 3468 1
 Ἰούνιος see Index III s.v. Macrianus and Quietus
 Ἰούστος, Claudius, idilogus 3472 4
 Ἰππόναμος see Index VII(b)
 Ἰσιδωριανός, Flavius, *beneficiarius* 3480 1
 Ἰσιδωρος, s. of Isidorus, gd.-s. of Heracleides 3474 33
 Ἰσιδωρος, f. of Isidorus, s. of Heracleides 3474 33-4
 Ἰσιδωρος, f. of Aurelia Cyrilla, h. of Sinthonis 3500 1
 Ἰσχυρ[3496 22
 Ἰσχυρίων, s. of Heradion, gd.-s. of Ischyriion 3474 6, 31, 40

- Ἰσχυρίων, f. of Heradion, gd.-f. of Ischyriion **3474** 6
 Ἰσχυρίων, s. of Dionysius **3485** 3, 10, [15?], 19, [22?], 33, 39
 Ἰωάννης, Flavius, s. of Martyrios, member of the council **3512** 3
- Kaïcar* see Index III
Κάλλιπος see Index VII(d)
Καπιστοτέλης see Index VII(d)
Καπίτων **3465** 24
Κάραβος(?) see Index VII(d) s.v. *Βακχυλ*()
Κᾶρος, ex-iuridicus **3466** 8, 13, 17
Κεφαλᾶς, s. of Cephalas **3487** 3, 37
Κεφαλᾶς, f. of Cephalas **3487** 4
Κλαυδία Πτολέμα, alias D . . . **3497** 6-7
Κλαύδιος Ἰουέτος, idilogus **3472** 4
Κλαύδιος, Tiberius Claudius Balbillus, prefect **3464** 28
Κλαύδιος, Tiberius Claudius Hephaestion, strategus **3465** 1, 5
Κλαύδιος, Tiberius Claudius Herodes, strategus **3508** 1
Κλαύδιος, Tiberius Claudius Potamon(?), priest, hypomnematographus, exegetes, former archidicastes, strategus of Alexandria **3463** 1
Κλαύδιος see also Index III s.vv. Claudius, Nero, Claudius II
Κλεοπάτρα see Index III s.vv. Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V, Cleopatra VI; VII(d) s.v. *ἄγνια Κλεοπάτρας Ἀφροδίτης*
Κολλούθης **3511** 12
Κολλούθος, s. of Apollonius see Index VII(d)
Κολλούθος, potter **3519** 2
Κολλούθος **3513** 4 **3515** 4 **3519** 5
Κοπρέυς **3502** 8
Κούπιος **3466** 8?
Κυϊήτος see Index III s.v. Macrianus and Quietus
Κύριλλα, Aurelia, d. of Isidorus and Sinthonis, w. of Aur. Pasigonis, embalmer **3500** 1-2, 13
- Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος* . . . , prefect **3468** 1
Λητώ see Index VII(b) s.v. *Λητοῦς πόλις*
Λογγεινία, m. of Dion(ysius) **3492** 13
Λογγίνος see Index IV(a) (A.D. 492)
Λούκιος Λούκιος Γέτας, former prefect **3464** 11
Λούκιος see also Index III s.vv. Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Septimius Severus and Caracalla, Aurelian
Λούπιος **3466** 8?
Λούσιος, Lucius Lusius Geta, former prefect **3464** 11
Λυδίμαχος, Julius, head of the Idios Logos **3508** 3, 6
- Μακριανός* see Index III s.v. Macrianus and Quietus
Μάκρος **3492** 19?
Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Αἰμιλιανός, s. of [Marcus] Aur. Besammon and Aurelia Petronia, gd.-s. of Serenus and Eudaemon, gt. gd.-s. of Pe . . . **3476** 10
[Μάρκος] Αὐρήλιος Βησάμμων, s. of Serenus, h. of Aurelia Petronia, f. of Marcus Aur. Aemilianus and Marcus Aur. Eudaemon **3476** 3
Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Εὐδαίμων, s. of [Marcus] Aur. Besammon and Aurelia Petronia, gd.-s. of Serenus and Eudaemon, gt. gd.-s. of Pe . . . **3476** 10, [21]
Μάρκος see also Index III s.vv. Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus and Caracalla, Caracalla, Elagabalus, Claudius II
Μαρτύριος, f. of Flavius Johannes **3512** 4
Μάρων, f. of Heration **3464** 6
Μαρωνίς, w. of Mnesitheus **3464** 7, 10
Μακκαλεῖνα, m. of Dionysia, gd.-m. of Chaeremonis, w. of Harpocraton **3491** 1
Μέλας, s. of Hermogenes, gd.-s. of Melas **3467** 22
Μέλας, f. of Hermogenes, gd.-f. of Melas **3467** 23
Μενχῆς, f. of Heracles, h. of Tatas, gd.-f. of Panemgeus **3470** 5-6, 32, 49
Μένων see Index VII(d)
Μέττιος, f. of Didymion, high-priest(?) **3492** 9
Μηνσίθεος, s. of Theon, h. of Maronis **3464** 3
Μουσχῆς, f. of Aurelius Panechotes, h. of Anna **3512** 6, 22, 29
Μύρων, vetch-seller **3492** 26
Μυς. [**3464** 21
- Νεικήτης* **3514** 6
Νεμεσιανός **3513** 1 **3514** 1 **3515** 1 **3516** 1 **3517** 1 **3518** 1 **3519** 1 **3520** 1 **3521** 1
Νέρονας see Index III s.v. Trajan
Νέρων see Index III s.v. Nero
Νεφερώς **3514** 5
Νίγρος see Index VII(b)
Νικηφόρος **3492** 25
- Ἵοννῶφρις*, settlement guard **3518** 9
ἽΟσειραντίνοος see Index VIII
Οὐαλεριανός **3498** 7
Οὐέσπασιανός see Index III s.v. Vespasian
Οὐήρος see Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius and Verus
Οὐ(λ)πιος **3466** 8?
- Παῖς* (or *Πᾶς*), f. of Aur. Pasigonis, h. of Taues **3500** 4

- Παῆσις **3511** 23
 Παθατρῆς **3511** 16
 Παθερμούτιος **3511** 14, 19
 Παμοῦνις, donkey driver **3518** 4
 Παμοῦνις **3506** 28
 Πανάρης, s. of Germanus **3492** 18
 Πανεμγέυς, s. of Heracles and Tathonas, gd.-s. of Menches and Panemgeus **3470** 31
 Πανεμγέυς, f. of Tathonas, gd.-f. of Panemgeus **3470** 33
 Πανεμγέυς, f. of Tausoreus **3487** 2, 28
 Πανετβεύς, f. of Ammonius **3469** 11
 Πανεχώσιος, Aur. (= Πανεχώτης), s. of Mouses and Anna **3512** 22
 Πανεχώτης, f. of Theon, gd.-f. of Theon **3490** 4
 Πανεχώτης, Aur., s. of Mouses and Anna **3512** 6, 29
 Πανεχώτης **3518** 7
 Πάννος **3492** 6, 7
 Παπνούθιος, Aur., s. of Phoibammon **3512** 26
 Παποντάς **3505** 1, 29
 Πασιγῶνις, Aur., s. of Paeis(?) and Tauas, h. of Aurelia Cyrilla, embalmer **3500** 3
 Πᾶσις *see* Παῆσις
 Πατερμούθις **3504** 9–10?
 Παυλεῖνος, f. of Aur. Sarapion **3500** 11
 Πανσανίας, boatman **3505** 27
 Πε. . . , f. of Eudaemon, gd.-f. of Aurelia Petronia, gt. gd.-f. of Marcus Aur. Aemilianus and Marcus Aur. Eudaemon **3476** 5
 Πειθόλαος *see* Index VII(d)
 Πεκύσιος, f. of Ammonius, gd.-f. of Ammonius alias Pets. . . **3472** 3
 Πεκύσις(?), Heraclas alias, s. of Thoonis **3497** 8
 Πενήφις, f. of Aur. Gunthus **3480** 3
 Περτίναξ *see* Index III s.v. Septimius Severus and Caracalla
 Πετεῦρις, Aur., dike superintendent **3475** 2, 32
 Πετρωνία, Aurelia, d. of Eudaemon, gd.-d. of Pe. . . , w. of [Marcus] Aur. Besammon, m. of Marcus Aur. Aemilianus and Marcus Aur. Eudaemon **3476** 4, 15
 Πετρώνιος, teamster **3518** 7–8
 Πετς, [Ammonius alias, s. of Ammonius, gd.-s. of Pecysius **3472** 2–3
 Πετσίρις, Dionysius alias, s. of Sara. . . **3488** 1
 Πιβήκις, f. of Doras **3469** 7–8
 Πλουτάρχη, m. of Diogenes alias Dionysius, w. of Diogenes **3493** 2, 17 **3494** 1, 19–20
 Πλουτίων, archephodus **3467** 15
 Πνεφερώς, f. of Iollas, s. of Iollas **3489** 2
 Πομπήιος, f. of Amois, s. of Pompeius, h. of Harseis **3490** 1
 Πομπήιος, f. of Pompeius, gd.-f. of Amois **3490** 1
 Πόπλιος **3484** 8
 Πόπλιος **3492** 20
 Ποσειδωνία, w. of Heracleides, m. of Theon, d. of ? Apollonius **3463** 5–6
 Ποτάμων, Tiberius Claudius(?), priest, hypomnematographus, exegetes, former archidicastes, strategus of Alexandria **3463** 1
 Πούπιος **3466** 8?
 Πτολ[**3465** 2, [5?]]
 Πτολέμα, Claudia, alias D. . . **3497** 6–7
 Πτολεμαϊκός *see* Index XI(b) s.v. νόμιμα
 Πτολεμαῖος, f. of Sarapion **3487** 5
 Πτολεμαῖος, s. of Sarapion **3508** 33
 Πτολεμαῖος **3492** 19
 Πτολεμαῖος *see also* Index III s.v. Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V
 Πτόλλις, s. of Amois and Thaisis, f. of Amois, h. of Ta. . . , priest **3470** 7, 34, 50
 'Ρούπιος **3456** 8?
 Cα[, Aur. **3499** 6
 Cαpa. . . , Aur. **3476** 21
 Cαpa[, f. of Dionysius alias Petsiris **3488** 2
 Cαραπάμμων, Aur., s. of Ammonarius **3476** 16–17
 Cαραπάμμων, Aur., s. of Ammonius **3476** 18
 Cαραπάμμων, scribe **3472** 20
 Cαραπάδης, χειριστής **3513** 5 **3515** 5 **3516** 7
3518 16 **3519** 8 **3521** 4
 Cαραπιάς **3505** 24
 Cάραπις *see* Index VIII
 Cαραπίων, Aur., s. of Paulinus, embalmer **3500** 11
 Cαραπίων, f. of Phantias and Demetria **3466** 5
 Cαραπίων, Serenus alias, royal scribe **3472** 2
 Cαραπίων, f. of Aurelia Aelo. . . , h. of Aelura **3477** 8
 Cαραπίων, s. of Ptolemaeus **3487** 5
 Cαραπίων, f. of Apollonous **3489** 8–9
 Cαραπίων, alias Alexander, s. of Diogenes and Demetrous, gd.-s. of Hermaiscus **3493** 1, 11, 15, 26 **3494** 2, 20
 Cαραπίων, f. of Diogenes, gd.-f. of Diogenes **3508** 2
 Cαραπίων, s. of Sarapion **3508** 33
 Cαραπίων, f. of Sarapion and Ptolemaeus **3508** 33
 Cαραπίων **3489** 32
 Cαρα(πίων), ex-gymnasiarch **3492** 14
 Cαραπόδωρος, exegetes **3507** 1, 41
 Cαράς, alias Diogenes, f. of Didyme **3499** 3
 Cαρμάτης **3502** 2, 6
 Cατουρνίνος, Aemilius, prefect **3474** 11, 21
 Cεβαστός *see* Index III; V s.vv. *Νερώνιος Cεβαστός, Cεβαστός*; XI(b) s.v. *νόμιμα*

- Κεουήρος* 3513 1 3514 1 3515 1 3516 1 3517 1 3518 1 3519 1 3520 1 3521 1
Κεουήρος see also Index III s.vv. Septimius Severus and Caracalla, Caracalla
Κεπτίμιος see Index III s.v. Septimius Severus and Caracalla
Κερήνος, alias Sarapion, royal scribe 3472 1
Κερήνος, f. of [Marcus] Aur. Besammon, gd.-f. of Marcus Aur. Aemilianus and Marcus Aur. Eudaemon 3476 3
Κεώς, s. of Heracleides, f. of Heracleides, gd.-f. of Chaeremonis, h. of Taonnophris 3491 1
Κιλβανός, φροντιστής 3513 2
Κιλβανός 3511 13
Κιλβανός 3514 12
Κιθώνις, m. of Aurelia Cyrilla, w. of Isidorus 3500 2
Κτρουθός, f. of Aur. Cheos, gd.-f. of Aur. Syrius 3479 5, 16
Κυρίων, Aur., s. of Aur. Cheos, gd.-s. of Struthus 3479 20
Κύρος 3501 1
Κώκος see Index VII(d)
- Κα.*, d. of . . . allas, m. of Amois, w. of Ptolis 3470 35
Καθωνάς, d. of Panemgeus, m. of Panemgeus, w. of Heracles 3470 32-3
Καοννώφρις, m. of Heracleides, gd.-m. of Chaeremonis, w. of Seos 3491 1
Καε(), m. of Ammonius 3492 16
Κατάς, m. of Heracles, gd.-m. of Panemgeus, w. of Menches 3470 6
Κανής, m. of Aur. Pasigonis, w. of Paeis(?) 3500 4
Καύρις, m. of An . . . , gd.-m. of Harmiysis, w. of Harmiysis 3471 5
Καύρος see Index IV(a)
Καυροεύς, d. of Panemgeus 3487 2, 28
Κείρων, C. [Julius], f. of C. Julius Diogenes 3498 2-3, 6
Κείρων, Aur., alias Apoll . . . 3499 4
Κεπεύρις, w. of Harsiesis 3468 10, 30
Κεχωούς 3503 4
Κιβέριος Κλαύδιος Βάλβιλλος, prefect 3464 28
Κιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἡρώδης, strategus 3508 1
Κιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἡφαιστίων, strategus 3465 1, 5
Κιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ποτάμων(?), priest, hypomnematographus, exegetes, former archidicastes, strategus of Alexandria 3463 1
Κιβέριος see also Index III s.vv. Tiberius, Claudius
Κίτος see Index III s.vv. Antoninus Pius, Macrianus and Quietus
- Κούρβων*, priest, archidicastes, officer in charge of the chrematistae and other courts 3499 1
Κούκος 3472 8
Κραϊνός see Index III s.vv. Trajan, Hadrian
Κρύφαινα see Index III s.v. Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V
Κρύφων 3483 12
Κρύφων see also Index VII(b) s.v. *Κρύφωνος Ἰκειών Τύχανος*, collector 3514 7
- Καναμάις*, settlement guard 3518 9
Κανάς, s. of Sarapion 3466 5, 7, 9, 11, 18, 20-1, 23, 24-5, 27
Καῦστος, banker 3487 8-9, 40
Κιλάδελφος see Index III s.v. Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V
Κιλαντίνοος, Aur. Basilides alias, s. of Hierax 3477 11-12
Κιλήμων, Aur. Theon alias, acting nomarch 3477 2
Κίλικκος, f. of Diogenes(?) 3488 3
Κίλικκος 3465 2, [5?]
Κιλοπάτωρ see Index III s.v. Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V
Κιλόστρατος 3492 10
Κίλων see Index VII(d)
Κιλώτας, sitologus 3486 1
Κιλάουιος Ἰσιδωριανός, *beneficiarius* 3480 1
Κιλάουιος Ἰωάννης, s. of Martyrios, member of the council 3512 3
Κιλάουιος see also Index IV(a) (A.D. 492)
Κοιβάμμων, f. of Aurelius Parnouthios 3512 26
Κούλβιος see Index III s.v. Macrianus and Quietus
- Καιρημονίς*, d. of Heracleides and Dionysia, gd.-d. of Seos, Taonnophris, Harpocraton and Masalina, gt. gd.-d. of Heracleides and Heracleides, w. of Dionysapollodorus 3491 2, 9
Καιρήμων, f. of Diogenes 3492 12
Καιρήμων 3474 1?
Καρία 3461 13
Κεώς, Aur., s. of Struthus, f. of Aur. Syrius 3479 5, 13, 16, 20
Κρήσιμος, Dionysius alias, s. of Dionysius, f. of Dionysapollodorus 3491 2
- Κεναμοῦνις*, foreman of vinedressers 3514 9
Ἐρίων 3497 12
Ἐρος, f. of Diogas, s. of Horus 3471 7, 50
Ἐρος, f. of Horus, gd.-f. of Diogas 3471 7
Ἐρος, f. of Zoilus 3487 34

VII. GEOGRAPHICAL

(a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.

- Ἰαδιαβηρικός *see* Index III s.v. Septimius Severus and Caracalla
 Αἰγύπτιος 3461 14
 Αἴγυπτος 3477 14
 Ἰαλεξάνδρεια 3464 12 3482 2 3503 9-10
 Ἰαλεξάνδρεις [3498 2?]
 Ἰααντινοείων [πόλις] 3476 2
 Ἰααντινοῦτικὸς 3507 24-5
 Ἰααντινοῦ πόλις 3477a 6-7 3477 3
 Ἰανω τοπαρχία 3488 9 3489 9
 Ἰααραβικός *see* Index III s.v. Septimius Severus and Caracalla
 Ἰααρμενιακὸς *see* Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius
 Ἰααρκενοῖτης (nome) 3464 2
 Αἰγυσταμνική 3480 2
 Βρετανικός *see* Index III s.v. Caracalla
 Ἰαἔλλην 3476 2
 Ἰαἔλληνικός 3471 9, 26
 Εὐβοία 3517 2
 ἸαΗρακλείδου μερίς 3464 8
 Θηβαῖς 3482 3
 Θμοισεφῶ 3474 13
 Καρπικός *see* Index III s.v. Aurelian
 Κασιωτικὸς 3491 7?
 κάτω τοπαρχία 3470 29 3471 24-5 3485 2-3
 Κοπτίτης (nome) 3477 8
 Κυνοπολίτης (nome) 3484 3 3488 4 3489 4
 Κυνοπολίτης κάτω (nome) 3477 5-6
 Κῶος 3482 18
 λιβὸς τοπαρχία 3475 4
 Λύκιος *see* Index VII(d) s.v. Λυκίων Παρεμβολῆς ἄμφοδον
 Μακεδῶν 3482 3, 4, 29, 30
 μέση τοπαρχία 3461 11 3508 5
 Μηδικὸς *see* Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius
 ἸαΟξυρυγχίτης (nome) 3465 [1?], [5?] 3466 4, 27 3468 4 3472 2 3479 4 3485 3 [3498 9?] 3508 1 *see also* Index XI (a) s.v. σταθμός
 ἸαΟξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις 3480 3-4 3498 2, 3 3512 5
 ἸαΟξυρύγχων πόλις 3466 3 3468 3 3474 7 3482 2 3484 9 3487 2, 7 3488 2-3 3489 2 3490 2 3491 2, 15 3493 1-2, 16 3494 2, 20 3500 2-3 3508 2 3510 2-3 3512 2
 πᾶγος γ' 3479 3, (6)
 Παρθικός *see* Index III s.vv. Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla
 Πέρσης 3485 6 3488 4-5 3489 4 3490 3
 πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τοπαρχία 3493 9, 24 3494 11, 31
 πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχία 3498 8
 Προσωπίτης (nome) 3469 7
 ἸαΡωμαῖος 3476 6 3498 4 3499 6
 Φενεβῆτις (toparchy? - Panopolite) 3469 2, 15, 16

(b) VILLAGES, ETC.

- ἸαΑκωρίτης (Hermopolite?) 3507 21
 ἸαΑρχιβίου ἐποίκιον 3489 30-1
 Βομβαή 3469 9, 10
 (ἸαἘπτα)κω(μία) 3462 8?
 Εὐεργέτις (Cynopolite) 3484 [3], 11, 24-5
 Ζ.ω() 3462 8
 Θμοιθῶθις 3488 9? 3489 9
 Θομπνηῖς (Panopolite) 3469 13
 Θῶλθις 3474 13
 ἸαἸππονάμου ἐποίκιον 3512 7, 29
 Αἰητοῦς πόλις (Arsinoite) 3464 8
 Νετρώ 3491 11
 Νίγρου ἐποίκιον 3488 45
 Παῖμις 3462 6, 9
 Παῶμις 3491 31
 Πε.ε. [(Cynopolite) 3488 3-4
 Πεεννώ 3496 8, 10
 Πέλα 3462 5 3473 5
 Περετνοῦς (Cynopolite) 3489 3
 Σεγκελεύ 3475 19, 24 3508 30
 Σεπέπτα 3482 7, 34
 Σενεψαύ 3491 10
 Σενοκῶμις 3462 10
 Σερύφις 3462 7? 3475 20 3498 8
 Σέεφα 3520 3
 Σιναρύ 3462 3 3485 2, 37
 Σοῦς 3516 2
 Σύρων 3479 6, 8
 Ταλαῶ 3470 [1?], 9, 29 3471 1, 8, 25
 Τρύφωνος ἸαΙσιεῖον 3462 4
 Φοβῶου 3497 9
 Ψῶθις 3493 9, 24 3494 11, 31, 39
 Ψωβθίτης 3503 13
 Ψῶνις (Panopolite) 3469 4, 10, 11
 Ἰαῶφις 3497 6

(c) TRIBES AND DEMES

Ἄλθαιεύς 3463 4, 23 3474 35
 Ἄρμονιεύς 3476 17
 Γενεάρχιος 3476 19
 Ζήνιος 3486 8
 Θεεμοφόριος 3477 12-13
 Ἰεΐδιος [3476 6?]
 Ματίδιος 3477 12

Νεοκόσμιος 3463 23?
 Νερούνιος 3476 19
 Ὀμόγγιος 3476 [6?], 22
 Παυλίnius 3476 5, 22 [3477a 6]
 Καβίνιος 3476 17
 Σωσικόσμιος 3463 23? 3474 34
 Φιλαδέλφιος 3477a 6

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

ἄγνια Κλεοπάτρας Ἀφροδίτης 3482 4, 30-1
 Ἀλεξάνδρου κλῆρος 3482 7, 34
 Βακχυλ() καὶ Καραβου(?) (κλῆρος) 3491 11
 γράμμα γ 3476 4
 Διονυσοδώρου [κλῆρος] 3491 10-11
 Θοηρείον Θενεπμοί (ἄμφοδον) 3472 19
 Θοῆρις 3488 48?
 Καλλίππου κλῆρος 3482 21-2
 Καπιστοτέλους καὶ Διοφάντου (κλῆρος) 3508 31
 Κολλούθου Ἀπολλωνίου κλῆρος 3475 14-15

Λυκίων Παρεμβολῆς ἄμφοδον 3491 15 3510 4-5
 Μαγδώλου κτήμα 3514 17 3518 12
 Μένωνος κλῆρος [3491 11?]
 Μουνθοτεῦ (canal) 3462 2
 Πειθολάου κλῆρος 3488 10
 πλυνθεῖον ι 3476 4
 Σαραπίειον see Index VIII
 Σεραπίδειον see Index VIII
 Σώσου καὶ Ἀγάθωνος κλῆρος 3508 30
 Φίλωνος κλῆρος 3491 11

VIII. RELIGION

ἄγνεια 3473 29
 Ἀθηνᾶ 3472 19
 Ἀπόλλων 3473 3, 10, 19
 ἀρχιερεὺς 3492 9 3506 20
 ἀρχιπροφήτης 3470 25-6, 45 3471 21-2, 43
 Ἀφροδίτη 3491 7 see also Index VII(d) s.v. ἄγνια
 Κλεοπάτρας Ἀφροδίτης
 Βησᾶς 3473 20
 βωμός 3473 14, 15 (bis)
 Διόσκουροι 3467 10
 δρόμος 3473 16
 ἑορτή 3473 26
 Ζεὺς 3471 1, 9, 25
 Ἥρα 3471 1, 9, 26
 Ἡρακλῆς 3470 [1?], 10, 30
 θεαγός 3495 8, 15, 25, 34, 42, 51, 58, 72, 82, 92,
 101, 110, 119, 129, 139, 149, 163, 178, 193, 205
 Θενεπμοί see Index VII(d) s.v. Θοηρείον Θενεπμοί
 θεός 3470 10, 30 3473 4, 29 3476 8 3482 29

3508 8 3512 17. See also Index III s.vv.
 Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V, Claudius
 θήκη 3473 11
 Θοηρείον see Index VII(d)
 θυμιατήριον 3473 19-20
 ἱερακόμορφος 3473 10
 ἱερεὺς 3463 1, 8 3464 12 3466 1 3470 [1?], 10,
 16, 29 3471 1, 8, 13, 25 3473 23, 27, 32 3499 1
 ἱερόν 3467 10, 12 3471 9, 26 3473 4, 17, 27,
 29, 31
 Ἰσειείον see Index VII(b) s.v. Τρύφωνος Ἰ.
 Ὀσειραντίνοος 3476 9
 παστοφόρος 3473 30
 προπύλαιον 3473 16, 22
 Σαραπίειον 3487 7-8, 14
 Σάραπις 3473 19
 Σεραπίδειον 3463 8
 σύνναος 3473 3-4
 τύχη 3474 31 3476 8 3495 1 3500 1 3508 7

IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

- ἀγορανόμος 3482 32?
 ἀγορούλαξ 3511 31
 ἀναγνώστης 3463 18
 ἀρχεῖον 3477 7
 ἀρχέφοδος 3467 14
 ἀρχιδικαστής 3463 2 3466 1 3499 1
- βασιλεύειν *see* Index III s.v. Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V
 βασιλεύς *see* Index III s.v. Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V
 βασιλικόν 3482 15, 26, [39]
 βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς 3470 4 3471 3 3472 2
 βασίλισσα *see* Index III s.vv. Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V, Cleopatra VI
 βενεφικιάριος 3480 1?
 βουλή 3476 2
- γραμματεῦν 3469 15-16 3492 5?
 γραμματεὺς 3492 5? *See also* βασιλικὸς γρ., πόλεως γρ.
 γραφεῖον 3485 36
 γράφων τὸν νομόν 3465 7
 γυμνασιαρχεῖν 3492 11?, 12?, 13?, 14? 3498 3?
 γυμνασιαρχία 3507 8
 γυμνασίαρχος 3463 13 3464 12 3492 5?, 11?, 12?, 13?, 14?
 γυμνάσιον 3492 5?
- δημόσιον 3498 37
 δικαιοδότης 3466 8
 διοίκησις 3508 24
- ἐξηγητεῦν 3474 2
 ἐξηγητής 3463 [2], 9 3507 41
 ἐπισκέπτης 3465 6
 ἐρημοφύλαξ 3467 9, 15
 εὐθημιαρχεῖν 3498 3?
- ἡγεμονία 3480 2
 ἡγεμών 3464 28 3474 12, 20 3503 8
- ἴδιος λόγος 3470 13 3471 11 3472 4 3508 3, 25
 ἵππαρχία 3482 3, 4, [30], 30
 ἵππεύς 3482 3
- Καϊσάρειος 3463 3?
 καταλοχισμός 3482 6
 κοσμητεῦν 3492 10?
 κοσμητής 3463 13 3492 10?
 κράτιστος 3472 4 3476 2 3503 8
 κριτήριον 3466 2 3499 2
- μνήμων 3482 32?
- νομαρχία 3477 3
- οὐσιακὴ ἐπιτροπή 3507 35-6
 οὐσιακός 3507 38
 ὄφφικιάλιος 3507 36
- περίβλεπτος 3481 3
 πόλεως γραμματεὺς 3472 13 3510 1
 πολιτευόμενος 3512 3
 πραιπόσιτος 3479 3
 πρακτορεία 3496 7
 πράκτωρ 3469 2-3, 14
 προηγεμονεῖν 3464 11, 35-6?
 πρύτανις 3463 3
- citoλόγος 3486 2 3494 39? 3497 5
 στρατηγός 3463 2 3464 1, 35? 3465 1, 5 [3466 27?] 3468 21, 27 3469 20? 3470 3 3471 3 3472 1 3503 9 3508 1
- ὑπομνηματογράφος 3463 1, 8-9 3498 1?
- χρηματιστής 3466 1-2 [3499 2]
 *χωματοεπιμελητεία 3508 23, 25-6
 χωματοεπιμελητής 3475 3-4?, 32? 3508 4

X. PROFESSIONS, TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS

- ἀμπελουργός 3514 9 3515 2 3516 3
 ἀπαιτητής 3514 7
 βαφεύς 3492 23
 γέρδιος 3492 22
 γεωργός 3473 33-4
- γραφεύς 3492 23
 γραμματεὺς 3472 20 3475 34. *See also* Index IX s.vv. βασιλικὸς γρ., πόλεως γρ.
 ἔμπορος 3514 17 3518 14
 ἐνταφιαστής 3500 5

ἐπιστάτης 3514 10
 *ἐποικιοφύλαξ 3518 9
 ζευγηλάτης 3518 8
 ἡπητής 3492 27
 ἰατρός 3492 24 (bis)
 κεραμεύς 3519 2
 κουρεύς 3492 22
 κυβερνητής 3481 2
 μυλωνάρχης 3481 6
 ναυτικός 3505 28 3517 4
 οἰνογεύστης 3517 2

ὀνηλάτης 3511 13, 27 3518 5
 ὀρβισπώλης 3492 26
 *πέπτης 3492 27
 προνοητής 3514 10-11 3515 2
 προστάτης 3469 12
 σημογράφος 3507 29
 ὑδροπάροχος 3515 3 3516 3
 φιλόσοφος 3492 4
 φροντιστής 3513 2 3516 2
 χειριστής 3513 6 3515 5 3516 7 3518 16 3519
 8 3520 9 3521 5

XI. MEASURES

(a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

ἄρουρα 3464 9, 22 (bis), [23] 3482 6, 7, 17, [22],
 22, [34], [35] 3488 10-11, 17-18, 29 3489 10,
 11, 13, 15, 18 3498 9, 10, 12, 13, 16-17, [19],
 [24], 42 3503 15 3508 31, 32
 (ἄρουρα) 3474 14 3491 [11?], 11 (bis), 13, 16, 30?
 ἀρτάβη 3481 8 3486 9 3488 13, 16, 20, 23, 25,
 50 3489 13, 15, 17 3493 5 (bis), 19, 20 3494
 5, 6, 24, 25 3496 10 3513 8 3514 18 3516
 9 3518 20 3519 12
 (ἀρτάβη) 3469 11 3473 31, 36 3474 14 3481
 9 3486 10 3496 13 3497 10 (bis) 3513 5, 7,
 9 3514 4 (bis), 5, 6 (bis), 7, 10, 11, 12 (bis), 13,

15, 20 3516 4, 10 3518 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 (bis),
 11, 18, 21 3519 4, 9
 βίκος 3461 6
 διπλοκέραμον 3515 5, 7, 8 (bis) 3520 4, 6, 10, 11
 3521 3-4, 6
 ἡμαρτάβιος 3493 4-5, 19 3494 5, 24
 πῆχυς 3508 13
 (π)ρ()? 3462 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
 σήκωμα 3512 11-12, 12, 13, 23, 29
 σταθμὸς Ὀξ(υρυγίτης) 3491 6
 τετραχοίνικος 3488 48? 3489 32
 χοῖνιξ 3496 12, [13] (3497 10 (bis))

(b) MONEY

(διώβολον) 3495 4, 5, 8, 9, 19, 22, 26, 30, 33, 45, 46,
 48, 54, 70?, 83, 91, 100, 102, 105, 107, 108, 111,
 120, 134, 148, 166, 197, 202
 δραχμή 3466 11, 15-16, 25 3468 18 3484 6, 10
 3485 8, [11], 26, 30 3487 10, 11, 20, 29, 30, 32
 3488 34 3490 7, [7] 3498 20 3520 8 3521
 6, 7
 (δραχμή) 3468 7, 17 3473 36 [3482 15] 3485
 39 3488 51 3491 6 (tris), 13, 20, 31? 3495
 passim 3506 25 3507 19, 31 3508 32 (bis),
 35 3511 43 3513 7 (bis) 3515 6, 7 (bis)
 3516 7, 8 (bis) 3518 18, 19 3519 9, 10 3520
 6, 7
 μνᾶ 3491 7
 μναιαῖον 3466 6, 10, 24, 30? 3491 6

νόμισμα Σεβαστὸν κ. Πτολεμαϊκόν 3484 6, [10?]
 3485 7-8; Σεβαστὸν 3487 10 3490 6-7 3498
 20
 νομισμάτιον 3480 15
 (ὀβολός) 3495 14, 17, 21, 39?, 41, 64, 65, 85, 128,
 131, 135
 (πεντάβολον) 3495 7, 23, 24, 32, 35, 40, 43, 52, 68,
 78, 79, 93, 95, 96, 97, 104, 117, 153, 192, 195,
 203, 205
 τάλαντον 3491 (5), (6), (20) 3498 [21], 44 (3507
 38) 3508 (31), (32), (35)
 (τετράβολον) 3495 6, 99, 115
 (τριώβολον) 3495 12?, 27, 37, 49, 88, 118, 122, 140,
 150, 164, 201
 χαλκίνη 3495 3, 29, 67, 75, 129, 152, 204, 207

XII. TAXES

βασιλικά 3482 11, 12
δημόσια 3488 37 3498 30, 33
ἐπιστατικόν 3473 37

πηδάλιον 3484 17
σακκοφορικόν 3481 11
χρυσάργγυρον πραγματευτικόν 3480 10

XIII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

ἀβαρής 3503 12?
ἄβροχος [3465 18?] 3489 21
ἄβρωλος 3489 32? 3493 8, 23 3494 10, 29
ἀγαθός 3495 1 3500 1
ἀγακλειτός 3473 3?
ἄγειν 3463 19 3465 18 3472 6
ἀγνεία *see* Index VIII
ἀγνωμοσύνη 3480 17
ἀγορανόμος *see* Index IX
ἀγροφύλαξ *see* Index IX
ἄγρια 3485 7 3491 4. *See also* Index VII(d)
ἀγωγή 3502 5
ἀδελφή [3461 13?] 3466 6 3480 4-5 3492 6
ἀδελφός 3466 5 3468 6-7 3498 7? 3503 6
3507 1, 27-8 3508 34 3510 6
ἀδιαίρετος 3482 6, [34]
ἄδολος 3488 47 3489 31 3493 8, 23 3494 10,
29 3512 14
ἀεί 3488 42 3489 30
ἀθετεῖν 3482 14, [15]
αἰδέσιμος 3512 3
αἶθριον 3491 [12?], 13
αἶρα 3474 16
αἰρεῖν 3474 3? 3479 9, 19 3483 3 [3485 20?]
3493 6, 7, 21 (*bis*) 3494 7, 8, 26, 27 3498 25,
36 3508 11
αἰτεῖν 3474 7 3506 25
αἰτία 3500 13
ἀκίνδυνος 3488 35 3489 19
ἀκόλουθος 3463 9 3464 14 3465 16 3466 13
3482 4-5, 9, 32
ἀκούειν 3503 10
ἄκριθος 3488 47 3493 23 3494 10
ἄκυρος 3482 14, 25
ἀκύρωσις 3491 4
ἀλήθεια 3510 13
ἀληθής 3479 11
ἄλληλος 3476 9? 3484 4 3485 18, 27, 31 3491
4, 8, 17, [18?], 18 (*bis*), 29 [3498 18?] 3500 6,
9-10 3512 10
ἀλλοδημία 3464 18
ἄλλος 3463 3? 3464 9, 13, 23 3465 19, 22 3466
2 3474 14, 19 3482 2, 7, 9, 12, [24], 29, 34

3484 20 3485 [22?], 32 3488 17 3489 24
3491 14 3492 11? 3495 138 3498 15?, [26],
29 3499 2 3502 5 3506 3, 4 3515 3 3516
3 3518 3
ἄλωος 3488 46 3489 30
ἄμα 3474 23 [3482 32?] 3488 26, 43 3491 5
ἀμελεῖν 3504 3
ἄμεμπτος 3491 17
ἀμπελικός 3491 16
ἀμπελίτις 3464 9, 21?
ἀμπελουργός *see* Index X
ἀμφιβήτησις 3466 9
ἄμφοδον *see* Index VII(d)
ἀμφοτέρος 3470 8-9 3483 2? 3485 6 3491 1, 2,
6 3500 5, 11-12 3508 33 3510 8
ἄν [3467 17?] 3482 14, 19, 38 3488 39 (*corr. from*
ἐάν), 50 3507 12, 23?
ἀνά 3489 13, 15 3506 25
ἀναβαίνειν 3506 7, 17
ἀναβολή 3508 13
ἀναγκάζειν 3507 9-10
ἀναγκαῖος 3466 26? 3469 13 3472 16?
ἀναγνώστης *see* Index IX
ἀναγράφειν 3510 15
ἀναδιδόναι 3491 4 3507 4
ἀνάδοσις 3474 3-4?
ἀναδοχή 3507 7
ἀνάθημα 3473 5-6?
ἀνακρίνειν 3477 16-17
ἀνάκρισις 3477 1
ἀναλαμβάνειν 3473 32 3482 39 3484 [13?],
26
ἀνάλωμα 3473 36 3515 3 3516 4
ἀναπέμπειν 3517 4, 6
ἀνάπλους 3484 [5], 15, 19, 24
ἀναφέρειν 3498 36-7
ἀναφωνεῖν 3482 36
ἀνδριάς 3473 10
ἀνεπιτήδειος 3517 3
ἄνευ 3479 9 3500 13
ἀνήκειν 3480 11?
ἀνήκεστος 3503 16?
ἀνήλωμα 3484 15, 20

ἀνήρ 3464 5, 9 3472 14 3475 19, 20, 23, 24, 25
 3487 5 3491 2 3500 15 3508 11, 17
 ἀντέχειν 3464 24?
 ἀντί 3468 18 3473 36 3482 10 3495 174 3508
 5
 ἀντιγραφὴ 3507 4
 ἀντίγραφον 3464 26, 32? [3465 3?] [3466 28?]
 3470 14 3471 12 3475 1? 3477 1
 ἀντιλαμβάνειν 3472 9
 ἀντιλογία 3479 10
 ἀντιπέμπειν 3492 21
 ἀντιποιεῖν 3464 21
 ἀνυπέρθετος 3493 7, 21 3494 8, 27 3512 18
 ἄνω 3482 22. *See also* Index VII(a) s.v. ἄνω
 τοπαρχία
 ἄξιος 3468 17
 ἀξιούειν 3463 12 3464 25 [3466 26?] 3467 16
 3468 26 3477 16 3507 21 3510 14 3512 26
 ἀξιώσις 3507 5
 ἀπαιτεῖν 3469 5, 17-18 3484 18 3507 16
 ἀπαιτητής *see* Index X
 ἀπαλλάσσειν 3466 17
 ἀπαντᾶν 3480 7?, 12
 ἀπαρτίζειν 3506 22
 ἀπαρχή 3463 22 3476 9, 14, 16
 ἄπας 3464 10 3482 31 3498 5 3508 25
 ἀπελαύνειν 3467 6
 ἀπεργάζεσθαι 3488 31 3508 11, 14
 ἀπεργασία 3480 7 3488 28 3498 30 3508 10
 ἀπέχειν 3466 23 3487 6, 28 3498 [21], 43
 ἀπηλιώτης 3482 20, 23-4 3498 [14], 15, 17. *See*
also Index VII(a) s.v. πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τοπαρχία
 ἀπλοκέραμον 3515 5
 ἀπλοῦς 3512 20
 ἀπό 3461 5 3462 1, 3, 4 (*bis?*), 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 3463
 22? 3464 11, 21? 3465 20 3466 3, 17 3468
 3, 31 3469 7, 10 3470 9, 13 3471 8, 11
 3473 32, 35 3474 7, 15 3475 8 3477 5, 8
 3479 5 3480 3, 6 3481 7 3482 5, 6, 12, 19,
 33 3484 4, 7 3486 3 3487 2, 5, 11, 21, 30
 3488 2, 3, 6 3489 1, 3, 5, 10 (*bis*), 25 3490 2,
 4 3491 2, 3, 12 3493 1, 3, 16, 17 3494 2, 3,
 20, 21 3495 8, 15, 25, 34, 42, 51, 58, 72, 82, 92,
 101, 110, 119, 129, 139, 149, 163 3496 6 3497
 6 3498 5, 14, [16 (*bis*)], 27, 28 (*bis*), 29, 29-30,
 30, 31, 32 3499 5, 7 3500 2, 4 3501 4 3505
 14 3506 29 3507 12 3508 2, 32 3510 2
 3512 7, 14, 29 3514 16 3515 6 (*bis*) 3516 5
 3517 3 3518 13 3521 2
 ἀπογράφειν 3510 3
 ἀποδεικνύειν *see* Index III s.v. Septimius Severus
 and Caracalla
 ἀποδιδόναι 3474 22, 32 3480 25? 3484 11 3485

9, 14, 27, 31 3488 26, 40-1, 50 3489 28 3490
 9, [12] 3491 18, 28 3493 30 3506 29 3512
 15, 24
 ἀπόδοσις 3480 13
 ἀποκαθιστάειν 3484 2-3? 3506 12-13
 ἀποκείσθαι 3505 14, 16
 ἀπόλοιπος 3480 14?
 ἀπολύειν 3505 18 3508 5-6
 ἀποπλεῖν 3484 28
 ἀπότακτον 3488 13, 15, 20, 22
 ἀποτιθέναι 3506 16-17
 ἀποτίνειν 3485 14 3488 32-3, 49 3489 33
 ἀπουσία 3491 19
 ἀποφαίνειν 3466 13? 3472 7-8
 ἀποφέρειν 3507 27
 ἄρα 3506 14
 ἄρακος 3488 12, 22 3489 12
 ἀργύριον 3466 11, 15, 25 3468 7, 17 3473 36
 3482 15 3484 5-6, 10? 3485 7, 11, 26, 30
 3487 9, 11, 29, 30 3488 34 3490 6 3491 5,
 13 3498 20, 44 3505 10, 27 3508 35
 ἀρέσκειν 3512 11
 ἀρεστός 3484 10?
 ἀριθμεῖν [3498 22]
 ἀριθμός 3505 4
 ἀρκεῖν 3491 4
 ἀρμόζειν 3464 31
 ἄρουρα *see* Index XI(a)
 ἀρτ() 3473 15
 ἀρτάβη *see* Index XI(a)
 ἄρτος 3489 17
 ἀρχεῖον *see* Index IX
 ἀρχέφοδος *see* Index IX
 ἀρχιδικαστής *see* Index IX
 ἀρχιερεὺς *see* Index VIII
 ἀρχιπροφήτης *see* Index VIII
 ἄσημος 3477 9-10?
 ἀσπάζεσθαι 3503 4? 3504 5, 9 3505 23, 24-5
 3506 27 3507 39-40
 ἀστή 3463 6 3491 3
 ἀσφάλεια 3485 23, 33 3499 9
 ἄτεχνος 3510 9
 αὐλή 3461 5 3467 5? 3491 15
 αὐτόθεν 3484 7
 αὐτόθι [3498 21]
 Αὐτοκράτωρ *see* Index III
 αυτομενίς 3473 13
 αὐτός 3463 14 (*bis*), 16, 17, 22 3464 [18], 22, 23,
 26, 30 3465 [6?], 20? 3466 6, 14?, 22-3, 29,
 [31] 3468 15 3469 6-7, 16 3470 23, 28, 54
 3471 [23], 52 3473 5, 26 3475 3, 7, 9 3476
 18 3477 10, 16 (*bis*), 23 3479 6, 8, 12, 18
 3480 6 (*bis?*), 13-14?, 28 3481 5, 14 3482 4

- (bis), 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 19, 24 (bis), 27, 30, 36
3483 [7?], 8 **3484** 11 **3485** [19?], 20 [20?],
 23 **3487** 3, 6, 14, 24, 34 **3488** 8, 26, 33 **3489**
 8, 33 [3490 4] **3491** 3, 6, 9, 10 (bis), 11, 13
 (bis), 15, 18, 19 (bis), 36?, 38 **3493** 3, 17 **3494**
 3, 21 **3497** 10?, 11 **3498** [7?], 7, [9?], 25, 26,
 30, 31, 33, 35 **3499** 5, 6, 7 **3500** 4 **3501** 3
3503 10 **3505** 4, 5, 17, 18, 19? **3507** 6, 6-7,
 11, 22, 26, 28, 39, 40 **3508** 6, 11-12, 34, 35
 (bis) **3510** 13, 16 **3512** 8, 27 **3514** 9, 15
3518 11 **3520** 5
- ἀφαιρεῖν **3491** 14
 ἀφανής **3464** 15
 ἀφήλιξ **3470** 15 **3471** 13 **3508** 34 **3510** 8
 ἀφικνεῖσθαι **3464** 20?
 ἀφιστάναί **3469** 2 **3498** 35
 ἄχρι **3506** 17
- βασιλεύειν see Index III s.v. Ptolemy XII and
 Cleopatra V
 βασιλεύς see Index III s.v. Ptolemy XII and
 Cleopatra V
 βασιλικός **3474** 14 **3498** 28 see also Index IX s.vv.
 β. γραμματεῦς, βασιλικόν; XII
 βασίλισσα see Index III s.vv. Ptolemy XII and
 Cleopatra V, Cleopatra VI
 βαστάζειν **3506** 11
 βαφεύς see Index X
 βέβαιος **3498** 27
 βεβαιοῦν **3488** 40 **3489** 28 **3498** 44
 βεβαίως **3498** 27, 44
 βενεφικιάριος see Index IX
 βίαιος **3468** 25
 βιβλίον **3480** 24
 βίκος see Index XI(a)
 βίος **3482** 11
 βιοτεία **3491** 12
 βοηθεῖν **3467** 18?
 βοηθός **3469** 6 **3514** 13
 βόλος **3495** *passim*
 βόρειος **3515** 2
 βορρᾶς **3482** [19], 20 **3489** 10 **3498** 14, [16],
 17
 βότειος **3505** 4, 9, 12
 βούλεσθαι **3463** 10 **3468** 16 **3473** 34
 βουλευτικός **3498** 29
 βουλή see Index IX
 βοῦς **3511** 34
 βρέχειν [3465 18?]
 βροχή **3488** 5 **3489** 5
 βωμός see Index VIII
- γαμῆν **3491** 5, 8, 9, 10, 12 (bis), 13 (bis), [17?], 17
 (bis), [18], 18 (bis), 22?, 24?, 27?, 28, 37 **3500**
 6, 7
 γαμετή **3480** 5, 9, 18, 21? **3491** 5
 γάμος **3500** 7
 γάρ **3469** 4 **3503** 15 [3504 8?] **3506** 19 **3507**
 14, 19, 29
 γε **3507** 12
 γείτων **3498** [14], [17]
 γένημα **3474** 9 **3481** 7 **3486** 4 **3493** 4, 7, 18,
 21 **3494** 4, 8, 23, 27-8 **3496** 1 **3497** 1 **3513**
 3, 4 **3514** 15, 16 **3515** 4 (bis), 6 (bis) **3516** 4
 (bis) **3518** 11, 12 **3519** 4, 5 **3520** 3 **3521** 2
 γεουχεῖν **3512** 5 **3520** 2
 γεουχικός **3512** 12
 γέρδιος see Index X
 γεωμετρεῖν **3465** 13?
 γεωργεῖν **3474** 12
 γεωργία [3498 28]
 γεωργός see Index X
 γῆ **3464** 9, 22 **3465** 19 **3474** 16, 23 **3482** 11,
 18 **3488** 36 **3489** 25 **3498** 28
 γίνεσθαι **3462** (11), (12) **3463** [2], 5, 9 **3464** 15
3465 16, 22-3? **3466** 7, 8, 14? (3475 25)
3476 9? **3480** 26 **3481** 9 (3486 10) **3487**
 41 **3489** 21 **3490** 7 **3491** 3, 6, 8 **3492** 11
3493 5, 10, 20, 24 **3494** 6, 12, 25, 31 (3495
 65) (3496 13) (3497 10) **3499** 9 **3508** 35
3512 13, 18 (3513 9) (3514 20) (3515 8)
 (3516 10) **3517** (5), (7) (3518 21) (3520 11)
 γινώσκειν **3506** 5-6
 γλεύκος **3512** 14
 γναφεύς see Index X
 γνώμη **3506** 20
 γνωρίζειν [3476 20?]
 γνωστεύειν [3476 20?]
 γνωστήρ **3476** 11
 γονεύς **3491** 9
 γράμμα [3466 31] **3467** 24-5 **3468** 15 **3470**
 55 **3471** 53 **3476** 18 **3477** 23 **3480** 28
3483 8? **3487** 35 **3493** 32 **3512** 27. See also
 Index VII(d)
 γραμματεῖον **3512** 20, 29
 γραμματεῦν see Index IX
 γραμματεῦς see Index IX s.vv. βασιλικός γρ., πόλεως
 γρ.; X
 γράφειν **3466** 26-7, [31] **3467** 23-4 **3468** 27
3470 54 **3471** 52 **3476** 17 **3477** 23 **3480**
 27 **3482** 2 **3483** 6 [3485 14?] **3487** 34
 [3490 12] **3493** 12, 27 **3494** 15, 35 **3498**
 36 **3503** 11 **3504** 7 **3506** 3-4 **3507** 24
3512 21, 26. See also Index IX s.v. γράφων τὸν
 νομόν
 γραφεῖον see Index IX

- γραφή 3463 20 3473 5 3492 1
 γύης 3482 22
 γυμνασιαρχεῖν *see* Index IX
 γυμνασιάρχια *see* Index IX
 γυμνασίαρχος *see* Index IX
 γυμνάσιον *see* Index IX
 γυναικεῖος 3491 8
 γυνή [3461 13?] 3464 7, 14 3468 10 3476 4
 3482 27 3485 22-3 3489 8, 25 3491 1, 5
 3500 8 3501 4 3510 7
- δανείζειν 3468 5 3485 3, 10, 15, 26, 29, 34 3487
 12-13
 δάνειον 3466 [13], 15 3468 18 3474 8 3485
 15-16
 δαπάνη 3498 35-6 3505 8
 δέ 3463 9 3464 9, 15, 20, 22, [24?], 30 3465 16,
 18, 19, 24 3466 7, 10, 17, 24 3467 8 3468 10,
 [20?] 3469 5, 9, 11, 13 3472 10 3473 16,
 27 3475 13 3479 14 3480 9 (l. τε), 16 3482
 2, 14, [16], 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 37, 38 3484
 10, 13, 18 3485 10, 13, [16?] 3487 8, 22
 3488 14, 21, 23, 35, 39, 43 3489 14, 16, 20, 23,
 26, 28 [3490 11] 3491 6, 8, 9, 10, [11?], [11],
 12, 15, 18, 19 3497 11 3498 14, [16], 16, 18,
 29, 33, 34, 38, 45 3500 7, 9 [[3503 11]] 3505
 4, 16, 17, 21 3506 14, 16, 23 3507 5, 12, 16,
 39 3508 15, 28, 36 3513 7 3515 6, 7 3516
 8 3518 18 3519 10 3520 6 3521 6
 δεῖν 3480 25 3491 18? 3500 8 [3504 4?] 3505
 27 3507 33
 δέκα 3486 10 3488 11, 23, 25, 29 3508 13 3518
 20
 δεκαδύο 3513 8 3514 19
 δεκαεξ 3482 17 3513 9 3520 4, 10 3521 6
 δεκαοκτώ 3519 12
 δεκαπέντε 3514 19-20
 δέκατος 3465 10 3482 3, [30] 3487 17
 δεκατρεῖς 3498 13
 δεξιός 3477 15
 δεόντως 3464 6 3472 9
 δέρμα 3505 3
 δεύτερος 3467 19 [3477 a 2?] 3485 2, 34
 δηλοῦν 3465 4, 12 3472 18? 3487 24-5 3491
 23 3498 6 3505 12, 17, 28 3506 26 3507 39
 δημόσιος 3465 6 3467 4-5? 3470 23, 42 3471
 19, 40 3475 7 3477 6 3489 24 3491 4
 3493 4, 19 3494 5, 24 3498 29 3508 4. *See*
also Index IX; XII
 δημοσιῶν 3466 19
 δημοσίως 3498 38, 45
 διά 3464 [17], [27], 29 3473 31 3475 6, 32 3477
 7 3482 5, [32], [33], 36 [3483 8?] 3484 9
 3485 27, 31, 36 3487 8, 13, 24, 40 3490 6
 3491 4 3497 5 3498 21, 27, 31, 37 (*bis*) 3499
 4 3502 2 3505 3, 11, 16, 23? 3507 22 3511
 41 3512 28 3517 4
 διαγράφειν 3470 20-1 3471 17
 διαγραφή 3487 13, 41
 διαδέχεσθαι 3477 2
 διαδοχή 3473 28
 διαζευγνύειν 3491 18
 διάζωμα 3462 6
 διαθήκη [3498 8?]
 διαιρεῖν 3482 16
 διαίρεσις 3498 7
 διακολλᾶν 3473 12?
 διάκοπος 3475 16?
 διακόπτειν 3475 16?
 διακόσιοι 3468 19 3490 7, 8 3493 5, 5-6, 19, 20
 3494 5, 6, 24, 25 3517 5, 7
 διακοῦειν 3464 13
 διαλαμβάνειν 3467 16-17 3472 7
 διαλογισμός 3464 29? 3465 13 3472 5
 διάλυσις 3478 1
 διαπέμπειν 3505 3, 11-12
 διαστέλλειν 3486 2-3 3496 1 3497 1
 διαστολικός 3464 5
 διάταγμα 3507 35
 διατάσσειν 3508 10 (*bis*), 16-17
 διατένειν 3482 [19], 20
 διατροφή 3473 29-30
 δίδοναι 3465 25? 3472 17? 3473 30, 34 3482
 5 3489 16 [3499 6?] 3505 19?, 28 3507
 31 3513 2, 8 3514 2, 9, 18 3515 2, 7 3516
 2, 8 3518 2, 19 3519 2, 11
 διδυμαγενής 3476 10?, 20?
 διελθεῖν 3466 22 3472 5 3474 9 3493 4, 18
 3494 4, 23 3498 31 (*bis*)
 διευτυχεῖν 3468 33 3477 17
 δικτάναι [3484 4?]
 δικαιοδότης *see* Index IX
 δίκαιος 3464 30 3468 32 3476 6 3487 22-3,
 33 3498 [5], [6?], 7? 3500 7 3507 14
 δίκη [3464 16] 3483 5? [3485 21?] 3493 11, 26
 3494 13, 33 3498 36
 διό 3465 9 3467 16 3468 26 3503 11
 διοίκησις *see* Index IX
 διομολογεῖν 3482 15
 διορθοῦν 3468 8-9
 διόρθωσις 3482 11
 διορύσσειν 3467 3-4?
 διπλοκέραμον *see* Index XI(a)
 δίπτυχος 3491 7
 δις 3493 12, 27 3494 15, 34-5
 δίφρος 3491 8 (*bis*?)

- διάβολον *see* Index XI(b)
 διῶρυξ 3462 2 3498 16
 δοκεῖν 3467 18? 3474 10 3507 16
 δόκιμος 3484 10?
 δόσις 3515 2, 3 3516 2 3519 3
 δούλη 3477 13
 δοῦλος 3510 5, 7
 δραγματολ(ογ) 3473 32-3
 δραχμή *see* Index XI(b)
 δρόμος *see* Index VIII
 δύναμις 3491 18 3500 9
 δύνασθαι 3472 9
 δύνατος 3507 20
 δύο 3472 11 3482 4 3487 11, 12, 29, 30 3488
 5, 6 3489 5 (*bis*), 13
 δυοτριάκστος [3498 11]
 δώδεκα 3498 10, [17]
 δωδέκατος 3463 4 3487 25, 35, 38-9

 ἐάν 3461 7 3464 28 3467 16 3468 26 3472
 10 3482 14, 25, 37 [3483 3?] 3485 13, 20
 3489 20, 23 [3490 11] 3491 10, 16, 18, 19,
 37 3493 6 (*bis*), 21 (*bis*) 3494 7, 8, 26, 27
 3498 25, 33, 36 3500 12 3503 11 [3504
 4?] 3505 10, 27 3506 16 3507 23?, 39
 3508 28
 ἐαυτοῦ 3466 12, 21 3482 8 3484 28, 29 3488
 39 3491 9 3500 1
 ἐβδομήκοντα 3487 12, 30
 ἐγγενής 3477 13
 ἔγγιστα 3464 29
 ἔγγραφος 3472 16 [3499 9?]
 ἔγγυον 3474 35 3479 7, 17, 20
 ἔγγυη 3466 5, 18, 20
 ἔγγυος 3485 [17?], 27, 31
 ἐγκαλεῖν 3464 24, 27 3478 2 (*bis*)
 ἐγκέλευσις 3474 20
 ἐγκλησις 3464 4, 25
 ἐγκοιλαίνειν 3473 18?
 ἐγκοιτάζεσθαι 3473 18?
 ἐγκολάπτειν 3473 18?
 *ἐγκόλοβος 3477 9
 ἐγώ 3463 5, 16 3464 7, 13, [14], 20, 23, 30 3465
 3, 7 3466 5, 8, 17, 19? 3467 6, 8, 13, [24]
 3468 12, 13 3469 1, 3 3470 41 3471 39
 3472 13 3473 27 3475 6, 32-3 3476 9?, 15,
 16 3478 1 3479 12 3480 7?, 9, 15?, 17 (*bis*),
 19 3481 5 3482 33, 38, [39] 3483 [2?], 3?, 4,
 [7?] 3486 3 3487 4, 20, 23, 31, 33 3492 21
 3493 10 (*bis*), 11, 25 (*bis*), 26 3494 12, 13, 14,
 32, 33, 34 3498 [6?], 6, [7?], [8?], [22], 23, 26
 (*bis*), 34, 37 (*bis*) 3503 15 3504 6, 7 3505 5,
 8, 12 (*bis*), 17, 23, 28 3506 3, 10, 16, 23, 26
 3507 1, 5, 22, 25, 30, 31, 38, 40 (*ter*) 3508 24,
 26, 29, 36 3510 6, 7 3511 40 3512 11, 19, 20,
 25, 28. *See also* Index III s.v. Macrianus and
 Quietus
 ἔδαφος 3465 23 3498 9
 ἔθος 3470 43 3471 41 3476 6 [3498 5] 3499
 6 3514 8-9
 εἰ 3470 22 3471 18 3479 14 3491 10 3505
 27 3506 14 3507 8, 12, 20
 εἰδέναι 3464 27 3465 9 3466 28, 31 3467 24
 3470 55 3471 52-3 3476 18 [3477 23]
 3480 16, 28 3483 8 3487 34 3503 11 3506
 27 3507 32 3512 27
 εἶδος 3465 8 3470 12 3471 11 3472 6 [3482
 15] 3498 28
 εἰκασία 3508 27
 εἶκοσι 3466 6, 10, 24 3488 21 3498 9, 12, [19],
 42 3519 13 3520 4, 10 3521 7
 εἶναι 3461 7?, 10 3463 13, 19, 23 [3466 30?]
 3467 18? 3468 13, 32 3469 16 3470 14, 24,
 43, 46 3471 12, 20, 41, [44] 3473 5, 9, 16,
 (18?) 3475 13 3479 11, 14 3482 7, 14, [16],
 17, 19, 25, 34, 39 3483 1 3484 20 [3485 18
 (*bis*)?] 3487 11, 24 3488 29, 37, 51 3489
 18 3491 10, 16, 18, 19, 26 3498 [21], 32 (*bis*),
 37 [3503 12?] 3505 7-8, 10 3506 3, 4-5,
 15-16, 18 3507 9, 18, 20, 35 3508 28?, 28,
 36 3514 3 3517 3 3518 4 3519 3
 εἰπεῖν 3463 15
 ἔκ 3461 5 3463 5, 21 (*bis*?) 3464 3 3465 20?,
 3465 18 [3467 1?] 3469 10, 11 3470 12,
 17 3471 10, 15 3473 29, 37 3474 5?, [8?], 9,
 16, 18, 36 3475 6 3481 4 3482 8, 15, 26,
 [35], [39] 3484 [3], 24 3485 18? 3488 5
 3489 4, 24 (*bis*) 3491 4, 12 3495 127 3498 5,
 [8?] 3501 1, 6? 3503 9 3507 11, 24 3508
 9, 29 3511 11, 18 3513 2 3515 2, 3 (*bis*)
 3516 2, 3 3518 3 3519 2
 εἰς 3469 14 3473 9 3480 15 3484 [13?], [15],
 16? [3485 19?] 3506 18 3508 27, 28 3514
 20 3520 7
 εἰσείναι 3467 6 3484 21? [3485 12?] 3488 14,
 21, 26-7, 32, 43-4 3489 14, 21
 εἴκρισις 3463 10, 16
 εἰςκριτικόν 3470 20 3471 17
 εἴσοδος 3461 8
 εἴπραξις 3512 19
 ἔκ 3461 5 3463 5, 21 (*bis*?) 3464 3 3465 20?,
 22 3468 19, 22 3469 2, 3, 9 3470 23, 41
 3471 19, [40] 3473 35 3474 13, 22, 33 3476
 9? 3480 5, 14 3481 12 3482 3, 4, 17, 21, 29,
 30 3483 [2?], [3?], 3, [5?] 3484 9 3485 [19
 (*ter*)?], [20?], [21?] 3488 10, [52], 53? 3489

ἐκ (*cont.*)

10 3490 6 3491 8, 10 (*bis*), 11 (*bis*), 18 (*bis*),
29 3493 10 (*bis*), 11, 25 (*bis*), 26 3494 12 (*bis*),
13, 32 (*bis*), 33 3498 [7?], [9?], [14], 14, 15,
[16], 21, [22], 36 3507 9 3508 3, 30, 31 3512
17, 19 3514 8
ἕκαστος 3473 28 3488 49 3489 12, 15, 33 3506
19-20 3508 11, 19
ἐκατόν 3484 14 3485 [8], [11], 26, 30 3486 10
3515 8
ἐκατοστή 3484 13
ἐκγονος 3482 8 3498 22-3
ἐκδιδόναι 3491 1 3497 12 3500 1 3507 28-9,
29-30
ἐκδοχεύς 3507 25
ἐκείνος 3464 29
ἐκκαιδέκατος 3498 [10], 10-11, 12-13, 13, 19, 42
ἐκκλητος 3507 33-4, 37
ἐκμαρτυρεῖν 3491 8?
ἐκπέμπειν 3468 28
ἐκπρόθεσμος 3508 32
ἐκτελεῖν 3503 17
ἐκτινάσσειν 3504 3?
ἐκτικισ 3474 36 [3485 18?]
ἔκτος [3498 17]
ἐκφόριον 3488 12-13, 19-20, 27, 42 3489 12, 14,
20, 23, 26, 27, 29-30
ἐκχυσιαῖος 3511 29
ἐλαττοῦν 3485 [21?], 32 3487 19-20, 31
ἐλάττων [3461 7?]
ἐλλείπειν 3463 20
ἐλλογεῖν 3491 19
ἐμαντοῦ 3498 35
ἐμβάλλειν 3469 8, 11-12 3481 4
ἐμβολή 3484 [12?], 25-6
ἐμμένειν [3482 26?]
ἐμποιεῖν 3482 12 3498 35
ἐμπορος *see* Index X
ἐμπροσθεν 3466 4 3473 17-18 3482 12
ἐμφάνεια 3479 9, 22
ἐν 3461 10 3463 8, 20 3465 7, 15, 22? 3467
[4?], 8, 11 3469 4, 12, 13, 16 3472 4, 16
3473 5, 11, 15, 21, 28 3476 4 3477a 6 3482
2 (*bis*), 10 3484 [9], 11, 29 3485 2, 6, 32
3487 20, 22, 31, 32 3488 11, 14, 21 3491 4,
5, 6 (*bis*), 7, 11, 13, 15, 19, 20 3493 9, 24 3494
11, 30 3498 16 3500 9 3505 24 3506 25
3507 5, 18 3510 15 3512 2, 16, 24 3520 2,
8
ἐναντίος 3508 36
ἐναπόγραφος 3512 8
ἐνατος 3482 2 3501 5
ἐνδέκατος 3481 7 3510 10

ἔνεκα 3472 17-18 3480 10, 13
ἔνεκεν 3507 33, 38
ἐνεργεῖν 3507 15
ἐνεργός 3491 7
ἐνέχειν 3472 11
ἐνεχυρασία 3468 15
ἐνθάδε 3507 36
ἐνοι 3516 2
ἐνιστάναι 3463 7, 11 3464 19 [3467 2?] 3473 6
3474 5, 10, 24 3475 11 3482 32 3484 21?
3488 6, 11, 18-19 3489 5, 11-12 3490 10
3491 12 3493 7, 22 3494 9, 28 3497 2 3498
32, 33 3508 29 3510 9 3512 16
ἐννέα 3482 7, 22, [35] 3489 10
ἐνοίκτης 3491 13, 14
ἐνοίκιον 3491 13, 14
ἐνοχλεῖν 3507 38
ἐνοχος 3470 45 3471 43 3479 14 3482 39
ἐνταῦθα 3477 7 3507 18 3512 5
ἐνταφιαστής *see* Index X
ἐντεῦθεν 3498 37 3512 9
ἐντευξίς 3464 30
ἐντοκος 3466 12?
ἐντός 3472 6, 11?, 15, 18
ἐντυχία 3468 23
ἐνώτιον 3491 7
ἔξ 3461 7 3464 9, [22] 3516 10 3520 4, 10
ἐξακολουθεῖν 3498 33
ἐξακόσιοι 3466 12, 16, 25
ἐξαυτῆς 3465 20?
ἐξεῖναι 3482 24 3491 13, 16-17?
ἐξετάζειν 3470 21 3471 18
ἐξέτασις 3470 12 3471 10
ἐξηγητεύειν *see* Index IX
ἐξηγητής *see* Index IX
ἐξήκοντα 3512 12, 24
ἐξῆς 3465 4 3476 11 3498 14
ἔξοδος [3461 8]
ἐξουσία [3498 25]
ἔξωθεν 3470 24, 42 3471 20, 40
ἐορτή *see* Index VIII
ἐπαγόμενοι *see* Index V
ἐπακολουθεῖν 3474 17
ἐπαναγκάζειν 3508 17
ἐπάναγκες 3498 27, 35 3512 15
ἐπάνω 3491 23 3498 17
ἐπειδή 3469 15 3480 8
ἐπεῖναι 3491 10
ἐπεξέλευσις 3480 25-6?
ἐπερωτᾶν 3478 3 3479 19, 22 3498 [22], 38, 45
3512 21
ἔπεσθαι 3474 23
ἐπέτειος 3507 11

- ἐπί* 3461 7? 3463 19 3464 16, 18 3465 24?, 27? 3466 8 (*bis*), 26? 3468 17, 28 3472 7, 8, 19 3474 [3?], 19 3482 11, 16, [19], 19, 20 (*bis*) 3484 [12?], 17 3487 7, 8?, 14, 24 3488 45 3489 30 3491 5, 6, 12, 15, 19 3497 10? 3498 26 (*bis*) 3500 12 3505 18 3507 17 3508 33, 35 3510 4 (*bis*), 13, 17 3514 15 3518 11
ἐπιβάλλειν 3468 20 3482 6, 33
ἐπιβολή 3475 21
ἐπιγινώσκειν 3466 20
ἐπιγονή 3485 6 3488 5 3489 4 3490 3
ἐπιγράφειν 3487 37-8
ἐπιγραφή 3465 18
ἐπιδεικνύειν 3467 12
ἐπιδιδόναι 3464 25? 3465 [3?], 17, 18 3467 23 3470 50-1 3471 50 3472 9? 3474 32 3475 34 3477 21 3480 24, 27
ἐπιέναι 3480 17 3498 34
ἐπιζητεῖν 3465 26 3467 7
ἐπιζήτησις 3467 13-14
ἐπιθήκη 3505 11, 21
ἐπικλασμός 3465 22 3498 30-1, 33
ἐπικρατεῖν 3464 6-7 3468 16 3472 14, 18
ἐπικρίνειν 3463 17 3470 26-7, 44 3471 22, 42
ἐπίκρισις 3501 2
ἐπικτᾶσθαι 3508 28
ἐπιμέλεια 3466 1 3480 10? [3499 1] 3508 9, 16
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι 3503 3
ἐπιμερισμός 3498 31
ἐπιορκεῖν 3508 36 (*εφιορκ- pap.*)
ἐπίπλους 3484 28
ἐπίσημος 3484 10?
ἐπισκέπτῃς *see* Index IX
ἐπίσκεψις 3465 16-17
ἐπισκοπεῖν 3463 14
ἐπίστασθαι 3506 19
ἐπιστάτης *see* Index X
ἐπιστατικόν *see* Index XII
ἐπιστέλλειν 3463 18 3465 3 3469 11 3472 16 3482 10 3513 5 3515 5 3516 6-7 3518 15 3519 7
ἐπιστολή 3507 3 3508 3
ἐπιτάσσειν 3507 25
ἐπιτελεῖν 3463 10 3468 14, 24 3508 18, 25
ἐπίτηδες 3464 19
ἐπίτιμον 3482 15, [26]
ἐπιτροπή *see* Index IX s.v. οὐσιακή ἔ.
ἐπιφέρειν 3472 11, 20 3493 12, 13, 27, 28 3494 15, 16, 35, 36
ἐπιχορηγεῖν 3500 8
ἐποίκιον 3469 12 3488 45-6 3489 31 3491 16 3512 7, 29
**ἐποικιοφύλαξ* *see* Index X
ἐποφθαλμιῶν 3468 11
ἐπτά 3488 14 3489 15 3493 5, 6, 19, 20 3494 6, 7, 25, 26
ἐπτακαυδέκατος 3484 22?
ἐπώνυμος 3473 23-4
ἐργάζεσθαι 3475 5
ἔργον 3508 18 3513 2
ἐρημοφύλαξ *see* Index IX
ἔτερος 3464 5, 9 3465 21, 23 3472 12 3473 15 3482 22, [24] 3485 23, 33, 37 3491 14 3498 16, 37 3514 4 3518 6, 10
ἔτι 3465 19 3468 20? 3484 16?, 18 3487 22 3498 29
ἐτοῖμος 3484 25
ἔτος 3463 4, 8, 11, 14 3464 4 3466 22, [32?] 3467 19 3468 8 [3472 21] [3477a 2?] 3482 1 [3484 22] 3485 1, 12, 34, 38 3486 5 3487 18, 25, 35, 38 3488 5, 6, 12, 15, 19, 21, 27 (*bis*), 32, 38, 42, 44 3489 5, 6, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 26, 29 3490 10 3493 4, 7, 8, 19, 22 (*bis*) 3494 5, 9 (*bis*), 24, 28, 29 3510 10, 17 3512 16 (*ἔτος*) 3461 2 3462 4? 3465 10 3470 1, 13, 18, 46 3471 1, 11, 15, [45] 3472 5 [3473 6] 3474 5, 9, 10, 24 3475 11, 27 3476 4, 5, 12 3477 9, 14, 18 [3483 9?] [3486 11] 3489 34, 3491 3, 12 3492 2 3493 13, 28 3494 16, 36 3496 3, 14 3497 2 3498 31, 32, 33, 38 3505 26 3508 36 3510 18 3513 3, 5, 10 3514 15, 16, 21 3515 3, 4 (*bis*), 6 (*bis*), 9 3516 4, 5, 10 3517 8 3518 11, 12, 22 3519 4, 5, 14 3520 3, 11 3521 2, 8
εὐ 3508 36
εὐγένεια 3512 8, 15
εὐδοκεῖν 3477 22 3482 31 3498 37, 45
εὐδόκησις 3491 17 3498 37
εὐεργετεῖν 3466 30? 3468 32
εὐθηνιαρχεῖν *see* Index IX
εὐθυμετρία 3465 12
εὐθύνειν 3482 38
εὐθύς 3505 11, 17
εὐκνημος 3477 9-10?
εὐλαβής 3512 4
εὐλογος 3500 13
εὐορκεῖν 3508 35-6
εὐόφθαλμος 3477 9-10?
εὐρίσκειν 3467 8 3506 9-10? 3507 23
εὐρέβεια 3473 35
Εὐσεβής *see* Index III s.vv. Antoninus Pius, Septimius Severus, Septimius Severus and Caracalla, Elagabalus, Macrianus and Quietus, Claudius II, Aurelianus
εὐτυχεῖν 3464 31 3467 19?

Εὐτυχής see Index III s.vv. Elagabalus, Macrianus and Quietus, Claudius II, Aurelianus
εὐχεσθαι 3469 19 3506 28 3507 40
εὐχρηστεῖν 3482 10
ἐφηβεία 3463 16
ἐφηβεύειν 3463 5
ἐφηβος 3463 12, 14
ἐφοδος 3498 26
ἔχειν 3464 10, 14 3466 6, 19 3478 1 3482 16, [20], 21, [23] 3484 8 3486 3 3488 24 3490 5 3491 5?, 12 3493 3, 17 3494 [3], 22 [3498 25] 3503 9?, 12 3508 32 3510 4 3512 9, 23
ἔως 3475 9 3488 39 3489 27 3493 31

ζευγλάτης see Index X
ζεύγος 3491 7
ζευκτήριον 3511 17
ζῆν 3491 10
ζητεῖν 3472 17 3507 37
ζώδιον 3491 7

ἦ [3461 7?] 3470 24, 42, 45 3471 20, 40, 43 3482 14, 25 [3485 22 (bis)?] 3488 32, 49 3489 24, 25 (bis), [33?] 3493 6, 7 (bis), 21, <21>, 22 3494 8 (bis), 9, 27 (bis), 28 3498 [26], 26, 33, 35 (bis) 3507 26, 27 3508 10
ἡγεμονία see Index IX
ἡγεμών see Index IX
ἡδῆ 3465 28
ἡδύς 3504 8
ἡλιαστήριον 3491 16
ἦλος 3511 29
ἡμέρα 3473 24 3476 11, [21] 3482 32 3491 20 3495 9, 26, 36, 44, 53, 60, 65, 74, 84, 103, 121, 130, 141, 151, 165, 180, 194, 206 3507 9 3508 29
ἡμέτερος 3480 5, 9, 18, 23
ἡμιαρτάβιος see Index XI(a)
ἡμιόλιος [3485 16?]
ἡμις 3461 7 3468 19 3482 6, 7, 8, [19], 20, 23, [24], 33, [35], 35 3488 14 3493 5, 6, 20 (bis) 3494 6, 7, 25, 26 3496 11 3498 6, [10], 10 (bis?), 12, 18, [19], [24], 41, 42 3505 7
(ἡμις) 3462 4? 3491 [11?], 11 (bis)
ἡνίκα 3482 38
ἡπητής see Index X
ἡσων 3468 17 3482 15

θεαγός see Index VIII
θεῖος 3478 2 3479 11, 15
θέλειν [3503 11?] 3504 8
θέμα 3497 6

θεός see Index III s.vv. Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V, Claudius; VIII
θήκη see Index VIII
θησαυρός 3484 17-18?
θυγατήρ 3476 5 3491 2, 9 3506 2
θυματήριον see Index VIII
θύρα 3473 17, 22

ιατρός see Index X
ιδιόγραφος 3493 12, 26-7 3494 14, 34
ἴδιος 3505 1. See also Index IX s.v. ἴδιος λόγος
ιδιωτικός 3498 9, 14, 17, 29
ιέναι [3498 8?]
ιερακόμορφος see Index VIII
ιέραξ 3473 11
ιερατικός 3473 14, 24
ιερέυς see Index VIII
**ιεροεθνής* 3470 16 3471 14
ιέρων see Index VIII
ιέρως 3472 7, 15
ίκανός 3503 16
ίμάτιον 3491 6, 19, 26 3504 4
ἴνα 3463 23 3464 27 [3466 30?] 3467 18? 3468 32 3469 16 [3470 21] 3471 18? 3472 16 3482 8 3503 11 3505 18 3506 26
ἰνδικτίων see Index IV(b)
ἰπαρχία see Index IX
ἰππεύς see Index IX
ἰππικός 3482 5, [33]
ἴσος 3482 15, 26
ἰστάναι 3464 13 3488 33-4 3500 9

κάδιον 3491 7?
καθά [3485 14?] [3490 12]
καθάπερ [3465 12?] [3483 4-5?] [3485 21?] 3493 11, 25 3494 13, 33 3498 36
καθαρός 3481 8 3482 11 3484 4 3488 46-7 3489 31 3493 8, 23 3494 9, 29 3498 27-8
καθήκειν 3472 13? [3485 17?] 3508 12, 15, 17, 26
καθησυχάζειν 3464 23
καθιστάναι 3464 18 3508 3-4
καθόλου [3485 9?]
καθότι 3482 13 3485 28, 31, 34
καθύφεσις 3507 18
καινός 3507 31, 39
καιρός 3464 19
κακοτεχνεῖν 3482 13, [36]
καλαμία 3511 15, 20, 24
καλεῖν 3482 18 3501 1
καλός 3498 38
καρπεία 3491 12?, 14
καρπός 3488 38 3489 26
κασσίτερος 3491 7

- κατά [3461 13?] 3463 6 3464 5, 6, 24 3465
17 3466 25 3468 8, 14-15 3472 14, 16
3473 9, 28, 34, 37? 3474 10, 20 3476 6 3477
6, 17 3480 19, 26 3482 10, 14, [27], 31, 32, 37,
[38] 3485 23, 32, 33 3487 4, 13 3488 27, 38,
42 3489 16, 17-18, 19-20, 26, 29 3491 3, 18
3498 4, [8?], 26, 34 3499 6, [9?] 3500 9
[3504 6?] 3506 24 3507 34 3508 26-7, 27,
28 3514 14
- καταβολή 3511 21
κατακόπτειν 3480 19
καταλείπειν 3466 29 3498 26 3514 16 3518 13
καταλοχισμός *see* Index IX
καταμετρέειν 3465 14
καταμήμιος 3518 2-3
καταντᾶν [3498 7?]
κατάπλους 3484 5, 16, 19
κατασπορά 3474 [3?], 5, 10, 19
κατατιθέναι 3474 16
κατατομή 3465 14-15
καταφεύγειν 3466 26?
καταχρηματίζειν 3491 14, 17
καταχωρίζειν 3464 26
κατέχειν 3466 12, 14-15 3469 14 3480 9
κατοικικός 3475 14?
κάτοικος 3482 3
κάτοπτρον 3491 7
κατοχή 3498 28
κάτω *see* Index VII(a) s.vv. κάτω τοπαρχία,
Κυνοπολίτης κάτω
κείρειν 3463 6
κεῖσθαι 3482 31 3506 13
κελεύειν [3484 14?]
κεραμεύς *see* Index X
κεράμιον 3484 12-13, 14 (*bis*) 3513 4, 7, 9 (*bis*)
3514 4, 5 (*bis*), 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 (*bis*), 14 (*bis*),
15, 17 (*bis*), 19, 20, 21 3515 4, 6, 7 (*bis*), 8 3516
6, 8, 9, 10 3517 4, 5, 7 (*bis*) 3518 5, 6, 7, 8,
14, 19, 21, 22 3519 6, 10, 13 3520 4, 5, 10,
11 3521 3, 5
κεφάλαιον 3485 8, 27, 30 3487 11, 12, 21, 29
3490 8 3491 6
κίνδυνος 3479 15 3488 36 3489 20
κληρονομικός [3498 6?]
κλήρος 3465 15 3474 14 3475 14? 3482 6, 9,
11, 16, [18], [22], [34], 35, 38 3488 10, 17
3491 [11], 11 [3498 9?] 3508 30
κληροῦχος 3473 34
κοιλόφθαλμος 3477 9-10?
κοινός 3465 12 3482 2 3491 12
κοινωνμαῖος 3505 6
κοινωνός 3468 13
κοκκολογεῖν 3474 15
- κολλυβιστικός 3477 a 7?
κομιδή 3466 13, 16, 30
κομίζειν 3468 29-30 3488 39 3489 27
κόπρος 3467 11
κοσκινεύειν 3493 8, 23 3494 10, 30
κοσμητεύειν *see* Index IX
κοσμητής *see* Index IX
*κούμουλον 3481 10
κουρεύς *see* Index X
κούφον 3512 15
κρατεῖν 3498 22
κράτιςτος *see* Index IX
κριθή 3474 15
κρίνειν 3465 25
κρίσις 3464 19
κριτήριον *see* Index IX
κρίτης 3464 11
κρυπτός 3467 11-12
κτᾶσθαι 3472 7?
κτῆμα 3491 16 3512 7 3513 3 3514 17 3515
4 (*bis*) 3516 5 3518 12 3519 5 3520 3
3521 2
κυβερνητής *see* Index X
κυριεία 3464 14
κυριεύειν 3488 38 3489 27 3498 22
κύριος 3464 28? [3466 26?] 3468 26 3469 1
3476 6 3482 9, 15, 27, 38 3483 5 [3485
23] 3487 3, 24, 25, 38 [3491 2?] 3493 11,
26 3494 13, 33 3498 4, 36 [3499 5?] 3503
3, 17? 3507 1, 40 3512 20. *See also* Index III
s.vv. Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius
and Verus, Septimius Severus, Elagabalus,
Macrianus and Quietus
κωλύειν 3468 22
κώμη 3461 10 3467 14 3470 9 3471 8 3473
33 3479 6, 8 3485 2, 36 3489 3 3491 11?
3493 9, 24 3494 11, 30 3498 8 3508 30
3520 2
λαβίς 3473 21
λάκκος 3498 11
λαμβάνειν 3470 28 3471 24 3473 22-3 3505 28
λαμπρός 3474 12, 20 3476 2 [3477 a 7?] 3477
3 3498 1, [2], 2, 3 3512 1. *See also* Index
IV (a) (A.D. 492)
λέγειν 3482 17 3503 8 3506 23
λήμμα 3498 32
λημματίζειν 3513 6 3515 5-6 3516 7 3518
16-17 3519 8-9
ληρός 3512 13 3513 4 3515 4 (*bis*) 3516 5
3519 6 3520 3 3521 3
ληστρικός 3467 3
λιβικός 3461 5 3515 4 3516 5 3520 3 3521 3
λίθινος 3473 14

λίθος 3473 12
 λινοκαλάμη 3511 30
 λίψ 3482 18 (*bis*), 23 3498 14, 15, [18]. *See also*
 Index VII(a) s.vv. λιβὸς τοπαρχία, πρὸς λίβα
 τοπαρχία
 λόγμος 3473 4
 λόγος 3465 16? [3466 29?] 3469 17 3470 13
 3471 11 3473 31 3475 5 3480 16 3502
 1 3506 16, 18 3511 11, [18], 35 3513 2
 3518 3 3519 2. *See also* Index IX s.v. ἴδιος λόγος
 λοιπός 3465 6 3482 38 [3484 11] 3487 20, 32
 3495 9, 16, 26, 36, 44, 53, 60, 74, 84, 94, 103,
 111, 121, 130, 141, 151, 165, 180, 194, 206
 3498 16
 λυχνία 3473 12
 μάγδαλος 3467 9-10. *See also* Index VII(d)
 μακρός 3492 19?
 μάλλον [3464 24?]
 μαλλός 3463 6
 μανθάνειν 3506 6
 μαρτυρεῖν 3483 11, 12
 μέγας 3463 8 3470 11, 30 3471 33? 3473 21
 3476 8. *See also* Index III s.vv. Marcus
 Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Claudius II,
 Aurelian
 μείς 3466 21 3467 2-3?, 22 3470 48 3471 47
 3472 11? 3475 10 [3477a 4?] 3482 2 3484
 21-2 3486 13 3487 17 3488 43 3489 30
 3512 16 3513 3 3514 3 3515 2, 4 3516 3
 3518 4 3519 3
 μελανόφθαλμος 3477 9-10?
 μέλλαξ 3463 20
 μέν 3464 8, 30 3465 13 3466 9, [23] 3482 17,
 37 [3485 15?] 3488 10, 11, 18 3489 11
 3490 12 3491 5, 10 (*bis*), 15, [19] 3498 [14],
 15 3500 12 3507 8 3508 36 3513 6 3515
 6 (*bis*) 3516 7 3518 17 3519 9 3520 5
 3521 5
 μένειν 3464 13 3482 38
 μέντοι 3507 24, 31, 32
 μερίζειν 3491 13, 14 (*bis*)
 μερίς 3475 4-5, 7. *See also* Index VII(a) s.v.
 Ἡρακλείδου μ.
 μέρος 3461 6 3468 12, 16-17 3482 6, 7, 8, 13,
 [19], 20, 23, [24], 33, 34, 38 3489 10 3498
 [7?], 10?, [14], [16], 18, 19, [24], 26, 35, 41, 42
 3515 2 3516 2
 μέσος *see* Index VII(a) s.v. μέση τοπαρχία
 μετά 3466 7 3473 26 3480 18 3482 27 3485
 16? 3487 3 3491 [2?], 9, 32 [3499 5?]
 3505 7 3508 9. *See also* Index IV(a) (A.D. 492)
 μεταβάλλειν 3520 8 3521 4, 7

μεταδιδόναι 3464 26, 32? 3465 7, 8, 9 3466 27?
 3469 3-4 3470 11-12, 28-9 3471 10, 24
 3472 12 3505 4 3517 2
 μετάδοσις 3464 5
 μεταλαμβάνειν 3464 20 [3498 23]
 μεταφορά 3511 36
 μετέωρος 3504 2?
 μετιέναι 3466 9, 11 3472 14?
 μετοξύ 3500 10
 μέτοχος 3472 3 3487 9, 41
 μετρεῖν 3481 3
 μέτρημα 3486 3-4
 μέτρον 3473 24 3488 47 3489 32 3493 4, 9, 19,
 23 3494 5, 10, 24, 30
 μέχρι 3464 18 3466 12, 15 3507 19, 38
 μή 3463 18 3464 16, 19 [3466 31] 3467 24
 3469 6 3470 54 3471 52 3472 11 3474
 31 3476 18 [3477 23] 3480 28 3482 12,
 37 [3483 8?] 3485 13, [21?] 3487 19, 31,
 34 3488 50 3490 12 3491 10 3503 14
 3505 18 3506 14 3507 11, 12 3512 27
 μηδέ 3463 20 3464 17 3470 43 [3471 41]
 3478 2 3482 12, 13 (*bis*), [24], 24, 35, 36 (*bis*)
 3491 19
 μηδεῖς 3466 28-9 3468 23 3470 39 3471 37
 3478 2 3482 14, 37 3485 32 3491 19
 3498 25-6, 26 (*bis*)
 μηθείς 3482 15, 35, 36
 μήκος 3465 14
 μήτε 3466 29 3478 2
 μήτηρ 3470 6, 7-8, 32, 34-5 3471 5, 28, 30
 3477a 10 3477 4, 8 3490 [1], 4 3491 1 (*bis*),
 [3], 6, 11, 13 3492 13, 16 3493 1, 2, 15,
 16-17 3494 1, 19, 21 3499 5 3500 2, 4
 3507 40 3512 6
 μητράδελφος 3498 7?
 μητρόπολις 3472 15 3477 5, 9 3496 8
 μηχανή 3498 11, [20], 24, 43
 μικρός 3473 4?, 13
 μιλοῦν 3505 5-6
 μισθός 3480 8, 14
 μισθοῦν 3488 1, 23-4, 30, 41, 52-3 3489 1, 16, 19,
 22, 23-4, 29
 μίσθωσις 3488 40 3489 28, 34?
 μνᾶ *see* Index XI(b)
 μναιαῖον *see* Index XI(b)
 μνήμη 3512 4
 μνήμων *see* Index IX
 μονή 3479 9, 21
 μόνος 3505 5
 μυλωνάρχης *see* Index X
 μυριάς (3469 8?) [3498 21]
 μυροθήκη 3491 8

- ναύβιον 3475 6, 16?, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26 3508
12
ναῦλον 3481 10 3484 3
ναυλοῦν 3484 7-8, 13, 23-4
ναυτικός *see* Index X
νεανίσκος 3484 12
νέος 3474 22, 33 3476 2 3488 46 3489 31
3493 8, 22 3494 9, 29
νεώτερος 3485 5, 5-6, 25, 28, 29
νηματικός 3502 1?
*νημάτιον 3502 1?
νομαρχία *see* Index IX
νομίζειν 3503 15-16
νόμισμα *see* Index XI(b)
νομισμάτιον *see* Index XI(b)
νόμος 3487 4
νομός [3465 6?] 3468 [4], 21, 27 3472 5 3477
6 3479 4, 6 [3498 9?] 3512 8. *See also* Index
IX s.v. γράφων τὸν νομόν
νότινος 3475 4
νότος 3461 5 3482 19 (*bis*), 20 3498 [14], [16],
[17]
νυκτερινός 3495 10, 17, 55, 61, 66, 76, 86, 95, 105,
112, 123, 132, 143
νῦν 3464 18 3468 10 3472 11 3487 22 3498
5 3507 12, 38
νυνί 3464 20 3472 14
νύξ [3467 1?]
- ξυλαμᾶν 3488 12, 21-2 3489 12
ξύλινος 3473 11, 13 3491 8
ξύλον 3508 12
- ὀβολός *see* Index XI(b)
ὀγδοήκοντα 3488 35
ὀγδοος 3488 18 3489 17 3491 [(11)?], (11),
(13) 3498 [10], 12, [17], [19], 42
ὄδε 3464 25 3466 28 3482 16 3491 4
ὀδεύειν 3498 14?
ὄθεν 3480 24
οἰκεῖν 3476 4
οἰκετής 3480 18
οἰκία 3461 4, 6 3468 13, 17 3491 [12?], 13, 15
3510 4
οἰκονομεῖν 3482 5, 33 3498 25
οἰκόπεδον 3472 7, 15, 18
οἶκος 3484 9 3490 6 3505 24
οἰνάριον 3517 3
οἰνογεύστης *see* Index X
οἶνος 3484 5, 12, 16 3507 15, 17 3511 37?, 38
3512 11, 13 (*bis*), 17, 23, 29 3513 3, 6, 9 3514
4, 5 (*bis*), 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12 (*bis*), 13, 16, 19 3515
4, 6, 7 3516 4, 8, 9 3517 6 3518 5, 6, 7, 8,
12, 18, 21 3519 5, 10, 12 3520 3, 9
- οἶος 3491 19 3507 8
ὀκνεῖν 3503 14 3507 11-12
ὀκτακόσιοι 3520 8
ὀκτώ 3467 7 3485 8, 11, 26, 30 3508 14 3518
21
ὀλκή 3491 7
ὀλόκληρος [3498 22]
ὄλος 3480 19 3482 9, 35
ὀμνύειν 3470 36, 51-2 3471 35, 50-1 3474 25
3476 7 3478 2 3479 10 [3482 28] 3508 6
3510 11
ὄμοιος 3462 7 3473 21 3482 19, 21 3510 17
3514 11 3518 6, 10
ὀμολογεῖν 3466 22 3478 3 3479 7, 19, 22 3482
3, [16], [30] 3484 7 3487 6 3488 23 3490 5
[3491 9?] 3493 3, 17 3494 3, 22 3498 [5], 22,
38, 45 3512 9, 21
ὀμολογία 3482 [27], 31, [36], [38]
ὀνηλάτης *see* Index X
ὄνομα 3504 6-7 3506 24
ὄνος 3469 10
ὄξος 3514 14, 17, 20, 21
ὀπηνίκα 3493 6, 20 3494 7, 26 3498 36
ὀπότεν 3479 9, 18-19
ὄπου 3464 28 3506 13?
ὄπως 3465 9 3466 28? 3468 31 3507 4, 21
ὄραν 3464 18 3469 16-17
ὀρβιπωλῆς *see* Index X
ὀρθός 3498 38
ὀρίζειν 3472 12?
ὄριον 3503 14
ὄρκος 3470 46, 52 3471 44, 51 3478 2 3479 11,
15 3482 [32?], [37?], 39
ὄρμος [3484 18?]
ὄς [3461 11?] 3462 (4?), (12?) 3463 22? 3464
3, 13, 14 3465 3?, 7, 28? 3466 5, [19] 3467
12 3468 7, 13, 19, 22 3469 3 3470 14, 25
3471 12, 21 3472 4, 18 3473 9, 12, 18, 25, 31,
35, 36 3474 12, 19 3475 18, 22 3482 5, 7, 10,
11, [13], 14, 17, 25, 32, 34 [3483 3?] 3484 7
3485 8, [19?], 22?, 32 3486 3 3487 11, 12, 23,
33 3488 1, 26, 30, 38, 50 3490 8, 9 3491 3,
[4], 5, 6, 14 3492 21 3493 6 (*bis*), 20, 21
3494 7, 8, 26, 27 3495 8, 15, 25, 34, 42, 51, 58,
72, 82, 92, 101, 110, 119, 129, 139, 149, 163
3498 [7?], 7, [10?], [14], [17], [21], 32 3499 8
3504 8 3505 7 3506 3, 5, 13?, 17 3507 9, 24,
38 3508 26?, 26, 28 3510 4 3513 5 3515
5 3516 6 3518 14 3519 6 3520 7
ὀδηποιοῦν 3498 34
ὄσος 3463 18, 20 3472 8, 10 3482 19 3491 12,
16 3507 23?
ὄσπερ 3474 15 3498 27, 36 3512 13
ὄστις 3469 2

ὅστισοῦν 3498 29
 ὅταν 3506 20
 ὅτε 3504 4?
 ὅτι 3506 6, 24 3507 25, 32
 οὐ 3463 18 3464 6, 23 3469 3 3472 10 3480
 16 3491 13, 16, 18 3498 37 3507 29
 οὐδέ 3463 19 3491 [14] (*ter*) 3506 18
 οὐδεὶς 3469 4 3485 9 3490 8 3491 6 3507 15,
 39
 οὐδέπω 3507 39
 οὖν 3470 21 3471 18 3472 12 3484 21 3498
 22 3500 6 3506 6, 26 3510 14 3517 3
 οὐσία 3520 8 3521 5
 οὐσιακός 3498 28. *See also* Index IX s.vv. οὐσιακή
 ἐπιτροπή, οὐσιακός
 οὔτε 3507 15, 16
 οὗτος 3461 8 3463 17 3466 7, [29?] 3467 8,
 10-11 3468 9-10 3472 12 3474 18 3477
 15 3479 15 3481 9 3482 14, 24, [29], [32],
 [37] 3487 22 3488 12, 19, 31 3489 11, 22
 3491 16 3493 6, 21 3494 7, 26-7 3498 26,
 32, 34, 35, 38 3505 15, 16 3506 11-12 3507
 13, 17 3508 9 3510 15 3517 3
 οὗτως 3464 17 3472 8
 ὀφείλειν 3485 [22?], 32 3487 23, 33 3498 33
 3507 32
 ὀφειλή 3498 28
 ὀφθαλμός 3477 14
 ὀφθικιάλιος *see* Index IX
 ὀβολόγιον 3495 5, 14, 19, 21, 24, 28, 38
 ὀψώνιον 3518 3

 πᾶγος *see* Index VII(a)
 παιδάριον 3514 3
 παιδίον 3506 24
 παῖς 3476 10, 20, [23]
 πάκτων 3484 25?
 παλαιός 3473 35
 πάλλιον 3491 7
 πανήγυρις 3514 8, 14
 πανταχῇ 3493 12, 27 3494 15, 35
 παντοῖος 3498 31, 33
 πᾶν 3507 18
 παρά 3461 12 3463 4, 18, 20 3464 3, 26 3465
 2 3466 3, 12, 23, 24 3468 2, 6 3470 5, 19,
 28 3471 4, 16, [23] 3473 [1?], 23, 27, 33
 3474 6, 8 3475 2 3477 4, 7 3479 5 3480
 3 3481 6 3482 14, 24, 40 [3484 9] 3487
 7 3488 24 3490 5 3491 5, 6 3493 3, 17
 3493 [3], 22 3498 21, [23] [3499 3] 3502 2?,
 3, 4 3504 6 3505 19, 29 3506 10 3507 42
 3510 2 3511 40 3512 9, 13, 19
 παραβαίνειν 3482 24, 25, [26?]

παραγγελία 3468 24-5
 παραγγέλλειν 3472 10
 παραγίνεσθαι 3464 16, 27
 παραγράφειν 3465 20, 21
 παράδεικος 3482 18, 19-20
 παραδέχεσθαι 3489 21-2 3507 10-11
 παραδιδόναι 3473 25-6 3488 31 3493 6, 21
 3494 7, 27 3520 2, 9
 παρακείσθαι 3465 24 3508 27
 παραλαμβάνειν [3484 13?] 3491 34? 3505 12-13
 παραμετρεῖν 3474 7-8 3493 3, 18 3494 3-4, 22-3
 παραποδίζειν 3463 18
 παράστασις 3463 19 3479 12, 18
 παρασυγγραφεῖν 3482 35
 παρατιθέναι 3472 10, 17
 παράφερνα 3491 7, 19, 23
 παραχαραξος (*sic*)? 3511 28
 παραχαράσσειν 3511 28?
 παραχρήμα 3491 19 3498 35
 παραχωρεῖν 3482 4, 13, 32 3498 5, 23, 32, 41
 παραχώρησις 3482 13, [38] 3498 36
 παραχωρητικόν 3498 18, 44
 παρῆναι 3463 8 3466 8 3473 28? 3477 15
 παρέλκειν 3505 19
 παρεμβολή *see* Index VII (d) s.v. Λυκίων Παρεμβολῆς
 ἄμφοδον
 παρεύρεσις 3482 13, [37]
 παρέχειν 3476 11 3480 8 3482 11 3484 28, 29
 3498 27 3512 14
 παρηγεῖσθαι 3468 24
 παριστάναι 3463 19 3484 23
 παρορίζειν 3503 14-15?
 πᾶς 3461 6, [9?] 3465 16, 19? 3472 7 3478 2
 3479 10 3482 9, 12, 26 3483 4 3484 4, 19,
 20 3485 21? 3487 24 3488 35, 36 3489
 20 3491 38 3493 10, 12, 25, 27 3494 13, 15,
 33, 35 3498 [20], 25, 27 (*ter*), 28 (*bis*), 29, 34
 (*bis*), 43, 44, 45 3500 9 3503 2 3504 6 3505
 8, 9, 16, 24 3507 40 3508 9 3512 20, 25
 3520 7
 παστοφόρος *see* Index VIII
 πατήρ 3491 5, 10, 13 3492 28 3498 6, [8?] 3506
 29 3508 34
 πατράδελφος 3498 7?
 πατρῶος 3508 8
 πέμπειν 3505 23 3507 3, 5
 πέμπτος 3489 6
 πενθήμερος (3475 25)
 πέντε 3481 9 3488 16, 18 3489 11 3498 [10],
 12, [19], [21], 42, 44 3515 8 (*bis*)
 πεντεκαδέκατος 3463 7 3493 8, 22 3494 9, 29
 πενήκοντα 3488 16 3493 5, 6, 19, 20 3494 6, 6-7,
 25, 26 3517 5, 7

- πεντάβολον *see* Index XI(b)
 *πέπτης *see* Index X
 πέρας 3482 20
 περί 3464 8 3466 [29?], 29 3467 17 3472 6
 3474 12 3479 15 3482 7, 13, 34, [36], 36,
 [37] [3485 21?] 3488 8, 45 3489 9, 30
 3491 10, [11?], 15 3498 [8?], 21, 25, 38 [3504
 7?] 3506 22 3507 6, 14, 38 3508 30
 περίβλεπτος *see* Index IX
 περίβολος 3472 6, 15, 18-19
 περιέχειν 3465 13
 περιεσός 3507 9
 περιχαλκίζειν 3473 17, 22
 περιχρυσούν 3473 13
 πέρυσι 3507 10
 πηδάλιον *see* Index XII
 πήχυς *see* Index XI(a)
 πιπράσκειν 3498 [5], 41 3505 13 3521 2
 πιστός 3474 17
 πλείστος 3465 23 3503 7?
 πλείων [3461 7?] 3482 10 3503 15 3505 19
 πλεονασμός 3475 21
 πλευρισμός 3498 15
 πληγή 3480 19
 πλήρης 3481 12 3498 21 3512 11, 23
 πλωθείον *see* Index VII(d)
 πλοῖον 3481 2, 5 3507 22 3511 10
 ποιεῖν 3464 3, 29 3468 23 3469 9 3472 4-5
 3478 1 3479 12, 18 3482 37 [3498 7?] 3504
 8-9? 3506 4 3507 10, 22?, 24 3508 11, 13,
 16
 πόλις 3463 2, 7 3480 6 3487 6 3490 5 3491
 3 3493 3, 17 3494 3, 22 3496 10 [3498
 2?] 3499 5, 7 3500 4-5. *See also* Index VII
 (a) s.vv. Ἀντινοέων πόλις, Ἀντινόου πόλις,
 Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλις, Ὀξυρύγχων πόλις; VII (b) s.v.
 Λητοῦς πόλις; IX s.v. πόλεως γραμματεῦς
 πολιτευόμενος *see* Index IX
 πολιτικός 3498 29
 πολὺς 3464 24 3503 7?
 πορεία 3465 17
 πόρος 3498 34
 πόρρω 3508 12
 πόσος 3505 12, 13, 14, 15, 28
 ποτε 3466 18
 πρᾶγμα 3467 17
 πραγματευτικός *see* Index XII s.v. χρυσάργυρον πρ.
 πραιπόσιτος *see* Index IX
 πρακτορεία *see* Index IX
 πράκτωρ *see* Index IX
 πράξις 3483 1? [3485 18?] 3487 20, 31 3488
 51 3493 10, 25 3494 12, 32
 πράσις 3477 11 3498 36
 πράσσειν 3489 23 3498 38 3506 5 3507 39 (bis)
 πρεσβύτερος 3462 5 3479 8 3496 9
 πρό 3503 2 3507 34 3508 13
 πρόβατον 3462 2?, 3?, 4?, 6?, 7?, 8?, 9?, 10? 3467
 7
 πρόγονος 3482 29
 πρόγραμμα 3464 17
 προγράφειν 3464 16 3465 8 3470 40-1 3471
 38-9 3474 36 3482 37 3487 16
 προδιελθεῖν 3496 2 3499 9
 προειπεῖν 3479 13
 προειρηκέναι 3480 11, 12
 προέχειν 3491 12
 προηγεμονεύειν *see* Index IX
 προθεσμία 3470 19-20 3471 16-17 3472 17
 3507 34 3512 24-5
 προίναί 3466 4, 21 3506 21
 προιστάται 3508 8
 προκείσθαι 3463 15 3466 10 3474 33, 37 3476
 15, 16, 21 3478 2 3479 13, 16, 17, 21 3482
 13, [16] 3485 28, 31, 34 3487 33 3490 12?
 3491 14 3493 9, 23-4 3494 10-11, 30 3498
 [19], 24, [24], 42, 45 3510 14 3512 22, 25
 3521 8
 προκόπτειν 3469 3
 προκτήτωρ 3492 17?
 προνοητής *see* Index X
 προνούλαιον *see* Index VIII
 πρόσ 3463 16 3464 29 3465 3, 18 3466 1 3467
 8, 13 [3469 8] 3470 11 3471 10 3472 4
 3480 7, 12, 15, 17, 22? 3482 6, 8, 18, [20], 22,
 23 (bis) 3484 [4?], 15, 16, 21, 24, 25 3485 36,
 40 3487 7 3488 30, 37 3489 19, 34? 3491
 19 3498 [7?], [18?], 32 [3499 1] 3503 9,
 13 3505 10 3506 14, 17 3507 38, 39 3508
 3, 9, 14 3512 10 3520 5. *See also* Index VII (a)
 s.vv. π. ἀπηλιώτην τοπαρχία, π. λίβα τοπαρχία
 προσάγειν 3477 15 3485 9? 3490 8 3491 6
 προσαγορεύειν 3507 2
 προσποτίνειν 3482 14, 25-6
 προβαίνειν 3470 17 3471 14
 προσδεῖν 3498 37
 προσδέχεσθαι 3463 13
 προσεῖναι 3498 11?
 προσήκειν 3474 19 3487 3 3508 16
 προσιέναι 3507 33
 προσκυρεῖν 3461 4?
 προσμερίζειν 3491 9
 πρόσδοδος 3473 6
 προστάσσειν 3477 17 3482 9-10
 προστάτης *see* Index X
 προστιθέναι 3496 7
 πρόστιμον 3507 37

προσυναλλάσσειν 3499 8
 προσυνείναι 3491 3
 προσφέρειν 3480 20
 προσφεύγειν 3466 26?
 πρόσφορον 3498 32
 προσφώνειν 3470 36 3471 34
 προσφώνησις 3465 4
 πρότερον (3475 14?) 3482 7, 34 [3498 6?] 3508
 34
 πρότερος 3505 15
 προτομή 3473 18
 προτροπή 3480 5
 προφασίζεσθαι 3469 5
 προχειρίζειν 3474 18
 προχρῶν 3478 1
 πρύτανις *see* Index IX
 πρῶτος 3486 4 3495 153 3512 17
 πυρην 3473 20
 πυρός 3473 (31), (36) (3474 9) 3484 5, [16], 24,
 26 (*bis*) 3486 9, (10) 3488 13, 15 (*bis*), 19, 20,
 22, 25, 46 3489 13, 14, 15, 31 3493 4, 18
 3494 4, 23 (3496 1) 3497 1 3513 4, 7, 8
 3514 (4) (*bis*), (5), (6) (*bis*), (7), (10), (11), (12)
 (*bis*), (13), (15), 18, (20) 3516 (4), (7), 9, (10)
 3518 (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10) (*bis*), 11, 17, 20,
 (21) 3519 4, 9, 11
 πωλεῖν 3477 15 3498 23
 πωμάριον 3511 33
 πῶς 3506 21

 ῥίνος (= λίνος?) 3511 42?
 ῥύμη 3467 5
 ῥύσις 3512 17
 ῥωννύναι 3469 19 3503 3, 17 3504 5? 3505
 25 3506 28 3507 40 3513 8 3514 18
 3515 7 3516 8 3517 6 3518 19 3519 11
 3520 9 3521 7

 σακκοφορικόν *see* Index XII
 σαλπιγγωτός 3473 20
 σάλπιγξ 3473 14
 σεαυτοῦ 3503 2-3 3514 13
 σεβάσμιος 3479 10-11
 Σεβαστός *see* Index III; V s.vv. Νερώνιος Σεβαστός,
 Σεβαστός; XI (*b*) s.v. νόμιμα
 σήκωμα *see* Index XI (*a*)
 σημαίνειν 3466 16-17
 σημειοῦν 3481 15 3497 12 3510 18?
 σήμερον 3469 9, 12
 σημογράφος *see* Index X
 σιδηροῦς 3473 21, 25
 σιμός 3477 10
 σιτικός 3498 9 3508 31

σιτολογία 3494 39?
 σιτολόγος *see* Index IX
 σίτος 3481 8, 9
 σκάπτειν 3511 25
 σκαφοπάκτων 3484 25?
 σκεπάζειν 3465 21
 σορός 3480 7
 σός 3482 34 3507 26 3512 8, 15
 σπείρειν 3488 15, 19 3489 14 3498 14?
 σπέρμα 3474 4?, 8 3488 25, 44
 σπονδή 3484 12
 σταθμός 3491 6
 στάμνος 3491 7
 σταφυλ() 3492 1?
 στεγνοῦν 3508 14-15
 στήμων 3511 43
 στρατηγός *see* Index IX
 κύ 3463 <8>?, <10> 3464 26 3465 3, 4 [3466
 26?] [3467 18?] 3468 26, 28, 31 3469 19
 3472 16 3474 8 3482 32 [3483 2?] 3485
 32, 33 3487 7, 13 3490 [5], 9 3493 3, 6, 10,
 12, 18, 21, 25, 27 3494 [3], 7, 12, 16, 22, 27, 32,
 36 3498 5, 21, [22], 22, [23], 23, 27, 32, 38
 3501 1, 3, 4 3503 11, [12?], 12 3504 9 3505
 3, 4, 19, 24, 25 3506 4, 5, 6, 14, 18 3507 2,
 3, 20, 28, 33, 39, 40 (*bis*) 3512 9, 14, 18 3514
 13 3521 2
 συγγραφή 3461 14 3482 [27], 31, 36 3485 24
 3487 23-4, 33 3491 3, 4, 15 3508 32
 συγκύρειν 3461 9
 συχωρεῖν 3482 37 3499 7
 συλλέγειν 3505 11
 συμβεβαιοῦν 3477 10
 συμβιοῦν 3491 17 3500 5-6
 συμβίωσις 3487 23
 σύμβολον 3497 11
 σύμπας 3486 9 3497 10?
 συμπέμπειν 3484 27
 συμπλήρωσις 3482 8, [35]
 συμφωνεῖν [3484 4?] [3498 18?] 3512 10, 25
 3520 5
 κύν 3468 5 3473 25 3474 22 3475 3 3482 9
 3491 [11?], 26 3498 22 3505 15 3506 6
 3512 17
 συνάγειν 3473 36 3518 15 3519 6-7 3520 7
 συναπαιτεῖν 3469 6
 συναπτειν 3472 8
 συνείναι 3487 4 3491 12
 συνέλευσις 3491 5
 συνευδοκεῖν 3482 26
 συνήθεια 3514 15
 συνήθης 3470 25 3471 21 3473 30
 συνιέναι 3467 13

συνιστάται 3477 10, 16 3487 14, 15
 σύνναος *see* Index VIII
 *συνονόφυλος 3500 12
 *συνονομάζειν 3498 [20], 25, 43
 σύνταξις 3514 2
 συντάσσειν 3463 12 3466 26 3483 7
 συντιθέναι 3480 8
 συντίμησις 3472 8-9 3491 6 (*bis*) 3508 27
 συνωνείσθαι 3507 26
 σφραγίς 3482 17, 19, [20], 20, 21, [22], 22, [23]
 3498 16
 σῶμα 3480 19?

 τάλαντον *see* Index XI(*b*)
 τάξις 3470 22-3, 39-40 3471 19, [38] 3480 1
 3510 15
 τάπης 3507 28, 30
 ταπήτιον 3511 32
 ταριχία 3495 89, 112, 127, 133, 143
 τάσσειν 3463 22 3476 9, 14, 15
 τάχος 3507 5
 ταχύς 3465 27
 τε 3463 13 3464 5, 13 3465 20 3466 7, 20
 3468 9, 28 3470 42 [3471 40] 3480 9, 17
 [3483 2?] [3485 19?] 3488 52 3493 10, 25
 3494 12, 32 [3498 28] 3505 9 3507 8 3512
 19
 τείχος 3467 5
 τεκνίον 3507 40
 τέκνον 3476 6 3480 4 3491 8, 10, [18?], 18, 29,
 36, 37 [3498 5] 3506 23
 τελεῖν 3498 30
 τέλεσμα 3474 24
 τελευτᾶν 3510 9, 13-14, 16
 τελευτή 3491 9
 τέλος 3461 3
 τεσσαράκοντα 3487 21, 32 3516 9-10
 τέσσαρες 3464 33? 3496 11 3516 9 3519 13
 3521 7
 (τεσσαρεςκαίδεκαετής) 3470 17 3471 15
 τεσσαρεςκαδέκατος 3464 4, 33? 3493 4, 7, 18, 22
 3494 4-5, 8, 23, 28
 τεσσεράκοντα 3487 21
 τέταρτος 3463 11 3482 6, 7, 8, 33, 34 3489 13,
 17 3490 10 3491 (7), [(11)?], (11) 3496 12
 3498 10
 τετραχοῖνικος *see* Index XI(*a*)
 τετράβολον *see* Index XI(*b*)
 τηλεκλειτός 3473 3?
 τηρεῖν 3507 6, 13
 τήρησις 3488 29
 τιμή 3463 7 3488 49 3498 18, 44 3505 13
 3507 17, 27 3511 17, 23, 29, 30, 32, 34, 37, 38

3512 11, 23 3513 5 3515 5 3516 6 3518
 15 3519 7 3520 7 3521 4, 8
 τίμιον 3482 9
 τις 3463 21 3466 18 3467 4?, 11 3470 22
 3471 19 3478 1 (*bis*) 3480 6, 16, 18 3482 14,
 24 3487 8? 3489 20, 23, 24 3498 33 3500
 13 3505 22?, 27 3507 39
 τίς 3470 24 3471 20
 τοίνυν 3480 8-9
 τοιοῦτος 3470 43-4 3471 41-2
 τόκος 3468 8, 30 [3485 16?] 3487 22 3491
 [12?], 13
 τολμᾶν 3466 19 3468 14
 τοπαρχία *see* Index VII(*a*) s.vv. ἄνω τ., κάτω τ., λιβὸς
 τ., μέση τ., πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τ., πρὸς λίβα τ.
 τόπος 3467 11 3472 10 3485 37
 τοσοῦτος 3506 25-6
 τότε 3507 38
 τουτέστι 3480 15
 τράπεζα 3477a 7 3487 9, 16, 41
 τρεῖς 3464 22, 23 [3498 21] 3512 13, 24
 τριακάς 3485 2, 11, 35 3490 9
 τριάκοντα 3487 10, 29
 τριακόσιοι 3484 10
 τρισκαδέκατος 3484 22?
 τρισσός 3498 36
 τρίστεγος 3461 4
 τρισχίλιοι 3466 12, 16, 25
 τρίτος 3467 2 3484 21 3485 12? 3488 6 3498 13
 τριφορεῖν 3469 10
 τρῆμις 3491 19
 τριώβολον *see* Index XI(*b*)
 τρόπος 3466 18 [3467 3?] 3480 16 3498 27,
 34 3508 26
 τρόφιμος 3480 23
 τροχίσκος 3473 25
 τροχός 3498 11
 τυγχάνειν [3464 30?] 3468 31 3507 19
 τύχη *see* Index VIII

 ὕβρις 3480 26
 ὑγιής 3474 17 3488 32
 ὕδρευμα 3491 16 3498 19-20, 24, 43
 ὕδροπάροχος *see* Index X
 ὕδροφυλακία 3489 18 3498 30 3508 15, 18
 υἱός 3463 6 3464 24 3470 10, 41 3471
 13, 39 3476 15, 16 3498 2 3501 3 3512 4,
 6, 22, 29
 υἱωνός 3492 5
 ὑπάρχειν 3464 7, 10 3468 12, 25 3482 8 3483
 4? [3485 20?] 3488 8 3489 7 3491 10, 11,
 15 3493 10, 25 3494 12-13, 32 [3498 6?]
 3508 26, 29, 33 3512 19

ὑπατεία *see* Index IV(a) (A.D. 361?), (A.D. 492)
 ὑπέγγυος 3508 28
 ὑπέρ 3464 10, 20 [3466 31] 3467 24 3470 54
 3471 52 3476 18 3477 23 3480 28 3482
 12 3487 34 3488 36 3489 24 3493 12, 27
 3494 16, 36 3496 7 3498 [18], 26, 30 3511
 23 3512 27 3514 2, 8, 14
 ὑπέρθεσις 3490 11
 ὑπερπίπτειν 3485 16-17
 ὑπηρετεῖν 3473 31
 ὑπηρέτης 3464 27
 ὑπισχνείσθαι 3507 30
 ὑπό 3463 17 3464 17 3465 3 3466 14?, [15]
 3470 25, 44 3471 21, 42 3472 12 3478 1
 3479 12 [3480 13?] 3481 5 3484 27 3487
 15 3491 13 (*bis*) 3498 [22], 23, 38 3508 6
 3514 16 3518 13 3521 2
 ὑπογράφειν 3463 16 3470 14-15 3471 12-13
 3475 6? 3476 11 3514 2 3518 2
 ὑπόγυος 3472 13
 ὑποκείσθαι 3470 22, 39 3471 18, 37 3473 26-7
 3508 27
 ὑπολαμβάνειν 3482 10
 ὑπολείπειν 3516 5
 ὑπολογεῖν 3489 25
 ὑπόμνημα 3463 17 3464 25 [3465 12?] 3466
 28 3482 5
 ὑπομνηματισμός 3463 9-10, 15 3464 15 3466
 14?, 17-18
 ὑπομνηματογράφος *see* Index IX
 ὑποπτος 3469 4-5, 17
 ὑπορύσσειν 3467 3-4?
 ὑπόστραβος 3477 14
 ὑποτάσσειν [3465 3?]
 ὑποτιθέσθαι 3491 14

 φαίνειν 3467 16 3468 26-7 3479 14 3498 33
 φέρειν 3466 19? [3467 1?] 3492 1? 3507 22-3
 φερνή 3491 5, 6, 25
 φθάνειν 3497 11
 φιλανθρωπεῖν 3463 24
 φιλόανθρωπον 3482 9
 φιλόσοφος *see* Index X
 φόρος 3511 33
 φορτίον 3505 15
 φροντίζειν 3503 2 3506 21
 φροντίς 3508 9 3515 3 3516 4
 φροντιστής *see* Index X
 φυλάσσειν 3500 6-7
 φυτόν 3498 11

 χαίρειν [3465 6?] 3469 1 3472 3 3479 6 3486
 2 3487 6 3490 5 3493 3, 17 3494 3, 22

[3498 5] 3503 7 3505 2 3506 2 3507 1
 3512 9 3513 1 3514 1 3515 1 3516 1
 3517 1 3518 1 3519 1 3520 1 3521 1
 χαλκίνη *see* Index XI(b)
 χαλκός 3461 14? 3488 51
 χαλκοῦς 3473 11 (*bis*), 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20 (*bis*),
 24
 χαράσσειν 3507 16-17
 χάρις 3498 35 3503 14
 χεῖρ 3483 5 3484 9 3487 25 3490 6 3498 21
 χειρίζειν 3482 5, [33]
 χειριστής *see* Index X
 χειρόγραφον 3466 5, 20, 22 3487 13 3507 38
 χειρόγραφος 3491 3 3493 11, 26 3494 13-14, 33
 *χειροπέλλιον 3491 5
 χέρκος 3465 19
 χοῖνιξ *see* Index XI (a)
 χορηγεῖν 3491 17
 χρᾶσθαι [3498 25]
 χρεία 3503 12
 χρεωστεῖν 3480 14, 25
 χρηματίζειν 3476 6 3477 13 3485 37 3498 4
 (*bis*), 41
 χρηματισμός 3463 16-17 3470 27 3471 23 3477
 6 [3491 3]
 χρηματιστής *see* Index IX
 χρηστήριον 3491 15, 16
 χρόνος 3463 21 3466 4 3473 35 3482 9, 12
 [3485 17?] 3498 5
 χρυσάργυρον *see* Index XII
 χρυσίον 3466 6, 10, 17, 20, 24
 χρυσός 3491 6
 χρυσοῦς 3491 7, 26
 χρωμάτινος 3491 7
 χυτός 3473 12
 χῶμα 3475 8, 14 3488 28 3498 30 3508 4, 8,
 12-13, 14, 19
 *χωματεπιμελητεία *see* Index IX
 χωματοεπιμελητής *see* Index IX
 χωρεῖν 3474 4?
 χωρίς 3476 6 3482 25 3490 11 3491 17 3498
 4
 χωφορία 3511 24, 26

 ψεύδειν 3474 31 3479 14
 ψήφισμα 3507 7, 13
 ψίαθος 3505 5, 9, 14

 ὠνεῖσθαι [3461 11?] 3477 6
 ὠνή 3511 43?
 ὦρα 3501 [4?], 5?
 ὡς 3461 7 3464 6, [19?] 3467 17? [3472 13?]
 3474 33, 37 3476 [4], 5, 15, 16, 21 3477 9, 13,

14	3478	2	3479	13	3482	2, [16]	3484	[14],	3518	17, 18	3519	9, 10	3520	6 (<i>bis</i>)	3521	5,		
15	3487	8?, 33	3491	12, 14, 23	3498	[4], 23,			6, 8									
25, 41, 45	3504	8	3508	15	3510	14, 17			ᾠσαύτως	3466	11	3508	15					
3512	25	3513	7 (<i>bis</i>)	3515	6, 7	3516	7, 8		ᾠστε	3462	5	3482	16	3484	2	3488	11	3489
											11	3507	19					

ΒΑΝΤΑΡΕΣΤΙΟΝ ΕΡΑΚ
ΛΕ ΜΕΤΕΡΑ

ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΙ ΕΡΑΚ
ΕΚΙΔΕΤΕΣ ΕΡΑΚ
ΑΥΛΟΝ ΕΚΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ
ΜΕΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΙΚΙΔΕ
ΕΞΗΜΟΥΣΩΣ ΕΡΑΚ
ΚΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣΤΑΥΤΗ
ΚΗ ΜΩΝ ΕΡΑΚ
ΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΡΑΚ
ΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΡΑΚ
ΠΑΡ ΔΟΜΗΝ ΕΡΑΚ
ΚΗ ΧΗΡΙΔΕ
ΕΡΑΚ

ΧΕΡΟΥΣ ΕΡΑΚ
ΤΗΝ ΕΡΑΚ
ΥΙΟΥ ΕΡΑΚ
ΤΟΥ ΕΡΑΚ
ΕΡΑΚ
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3501

[The image shows a fragment of an ancient papyrus scroll with several columns of handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is heavily obscured by dark ink smudges and physical damage to the papyrus fibers. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Greek or Latin used in antiquity. The fragment is roughly rectangular with irregular edges, suggesting it was part of a larger document.]

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